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16 New Settlements in Pre-Election Blitz

In the final week before the Israeli Knesset elections, settlers were active with bulldozers, tents and cornerstones to prepare 16 new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Israeli ruling Likud coalition planned 10 settlement opening ceremonies for the week, in what a Labour party representative called an "exhibitionist settlement blitz."

The rush represents the traditional pre-election political blackmail by settlement activists for funds, land, approval and sponsorship of new colonies. Groups of settler-squatters are living in military tents — one near Ramallah and two between Jerusalem and Jericho — in 'wildcat' settlements while they wait for election promises of West Bank land. Several of the approved settlements involve land whose ownership has yet to be decided in court. Many Palestinian landowners have appealed the confiscation of their privately owned land and settlers' violation of court orders to stop work.

Criticism from within the Israeli government revolved around decisions to build settlements on legally 'questionable' land and approving settlements without allocating funding.

The Israeli ministerial committee on settlements, meeting in Jerusalem July 15, officially approved the construction of five new settlements while Israeli authorities began bulldozing land in several areas of the West Bank in preparation for settlement construction, despite an apparent dearth of settlers.

The most recent settlement drive began with the much-publicised inauguration of Adam settlement, on Sunday afternoon, July 15. The settlement is located five kilometres east of Neve' Ya'acov settlement, midway between Ramallah and Jerusalem. Only ten families were on hand to move into the prefabricated housing. The settlement is being built for Oriental Jews from a West Jerusalem slum neighbourhood who protested poor housing last year. Adam was opened by Minister of Science and Technology Yuval Ne'eman, right-wing Tehiya party head, called 'Dr Strangelove' by Israeli leftists. Earlier in the day, the Israeli ministerial committee on settlements, which Ne'eman heads, approved the construction of Nafeh and Avnei Hafetz, both in the Tulkarm district. The committee also approved the conversion of Neveh Hanir, a nahal outpost, into a civilian settlement and the construction of Sla'im, both in the northern part of the West Bank. A fifth settlement, Kfar Hadeyim, is planned as a fishing colony on the eastern coast of Lake Tiberius within the 1948 borders.

The grand finale of the settlement drive is due to take place on election eve July 22, when seven more settlements will be opened in the West Bank and three in the Gaza Strip. The location of the planned settlements is not yet known.

Last week, Israeli settler-squatters set up three tent settlements in areas south of Bethlehem and near Ramallah.

July 10 a group of Israeli squatters, most of whom are from the West Jerusalem area, set up temporary housing in the Gush Etzion block of settlements, near the village of Jaba', south of Bethlehem. The new settlement, which they named Gva'ot, was established with the assistance of the local Gush Etzion settlement council. Israeli daily *Yediot Aharanot*, which reported the story July 11, said that no known settler group sponsored the move.

Only days earlier, a colony nucleus called Ne'ot Adumin, consisting of 10 tents, including a large military tent, was established southeast of Jerusalem with the help of the Gush Etzion settlement council. An unnamed member of the council told a *Yediot Aharanot*, correspondent that the tents were put up in coordination with the Israeli defence ministry. The military governorate has also pledged to provide water to the settlers. The construction of Ne'ot Adumin was approved by the Israeli government ministerial committee four years ago. Ne'ot Adumin settlers identified themselves as supporters of the Israeli Labour party and said that their settlement is part of the Allon plan. Proposed by Yigal Allon during Labour party rule, the scheme calls for maintaining Is-

continued on page 2

Settler Gate-Crashers Foiled from Entering Al-Aqsa

Arab guards at al-Aqsa Mosque aborted an attempt by Jewish extremists to drive a car onto the grounds of the Muslim holy place July 12 in Jerusalem's Old City. The settlers drove up a footpath and rammed the Bab al-Magharbeh (Western Gate) with their car in a stunt to allow other settlers onto the mosque grounds.

The account of the incident given by eyewitnesses contrasted sharply with the version given out by police and repeated by the Israeli media.

Three Israelis drove a Peugeot car past two military checkposts in the Old City without being stopped and then crashed against the western entrance to the Haram al-Sharif mosque area. The force of the crash cracked the wooden door and twisted the heavy iron bolt which held the door closed. Israeli police, who had been summoned by the *Waqf* guards as the car made its way up a narrow alleyway to the mosque, arrested the settlers.

Police tried to minimise the incident, insisting that the Israeli was mentally sick and had kidnapped an Israeli boy on his journey. The police also announced that there were no explosives in the car.

Mosque guards had become concerned that an attack was imminent when on the previous night they noticed Israeli settlers loitering around the mosque's northern wall, near St. Stephen's Gate cemetery. The director of the Islamic *Waqf* in Jerusalem, which is responsible for the security of the mosque, told *Al Fajr* that settlers' groups of two or more kept showing up near the mosque and then disappearing. "It looked as though they were trying to distract the guards," he said. Guards summoned the police, who left after searching the area.

The mosque guards remained on all-night alert in anticipation of a possible attempt by settlers to sabotage the area.

At 5:30 am the mosque

continued on page 13

Israel Hijacks Boat No.2 from Lebanon

A merchant ship flying the Lebanese flag and its eight crew members were captured a few days ago by Israeli marine forces off the Lebanese shore. The captured ship, 'Ula,' has a capacity of 750 tons and was built in 1956. Its crew is composed of four Syrians, two Lebanese and two Egyptians. They are all being held for questioning in Israel.

On the night of June 21, the ship carried five people from Tripoli in the north of Lebanon to Israel. Four of them descended from the ship in a rubber boat when it was approximately 80 kilometres from the Israeli shore. They were armed and equipped to carry out a mass attack. Because of a yet unclarified reason (one theory is that they suspected that they had been discovered and therefore escaped) the rubber boat didn't reach the shore and apparently returned to north Lebanon.

'Ula's' captain said on Israeli television July 18 that the crew complied with the armed men after the latter boarded the ship in the Tripoli port because the crew feared for thier lives.

A *HaAretz* correspondent said that, six days ago, security sources didn't deny the possibility that the capture of the Cypriot ship 'Alisur Blanco' took place following intelligence information that identified two of its passengers as those who planned and organised the unsuccessful attack from the sea. The two passengers are a brother and sister of Palestinian origin who are in custody after the release of the rest of the crew and passengers of 'Alisur Blanco.'

An Israeli army spokesperson disclosed July 18 that the Lebanese ship, 'Ula,' was captured during a routine patrol of an Israeli marine boat, and in the investigation made by the crew, it was clarified that the ship was involved in an attempt by Fatah to carry out an attack of mass murder on the Israeli shores by landing a boat from the sea.

Five days after the ship's capture, on June 27, the Israeli airforce bombarded the 'Araneb' Island and destroyed the port's devices from which such attacks have been derived. June 28 five Israeli marines were wounded in a clash near Tripoli. June 29 'Alisur Blanco' was captured. (Translation: HaAretz, Al Hamishmar, July 17, 1984)

IN THIS ISSUE

Israel Reacts to Lebanese Resistance p.2
Husan Land Destroyed p.3
Progressive List Speaks for Itself p.4
Arab Officials in Washington Silent p.5
Choices Facing Palestinian Students p.7
Interview with Edward Said . . . . . pp.8&9
Land Robbery in Bidya p.10
The Game of Acting p.11
How Palestinians View Israeli Knesset Elections p.16

South Lebanon Strikes to Protest Sheikh's Expulsion

South Lebanon went on a general strike July 18 to protest the Israeli authorities' expulsion from the south of Sheikh Mohammed Hassan al-Amin, head of the Shi'ite Islamic court in Sidon, two days earlier. In last week's resistance operations, one Israeli soldier was killed and three others wounded in several attacks carried out by nationalist resistance forces.

The strike began in Sidon, the largest city in south Lebanon, where shops remained closed and few people were in the streets. The strike spread to various south Lebanese villages and towns, especially predominantly Shi'ite villages, where Muslim preachers spoke against the expulsion action.

Meanwhile, Antoine Lahad, commander of the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army (SLA), which carried out the expulsion, warned village notables in south Lebanon July 17 that "anybody who participates in hostile acts against the Israeli army or the South Lebanese Army would be deported, no matter what the people's reaction might be."

The Israeli news agency *Itim* also disclosed that the religious heads (Imams) of Arab Slim and Siksikyeh villages were deported to Beirut recently.

Sheikh Mohammed Hassan al-Amin was abducted from his home in Sidon July 16 by unidentified militiamen and driven to the Israeli army lines north of the city. He was accused of inciting against the Israeli occupation.

Attacks

The Israeli army and its ally, the SLA, were increasingly under attack this week.

A 20-year-old sergeant was killed July 17 when his military position in Tyre came under RPG attack. Israeli military sources said that the attackers fired RPG shells at the military position which was on a rooftop. The rooftop collapsed from the explosion but, according to Israeli military sources, the rest of the soldiers were not hurt.

In another incident on the same day, a roadside bomb exploded as an Israeli military vehicle passed by the village of Ansariyeh, near the Zahrani river. An Israeli military spokesperson who reported the attack claimed there were no casualties.

Also, on the same day, Israeli soldiers shot and killed a Lebanese civilian near Tyre on the pretext that he didn't stop when requested to by the soldiers. Israeli military sources said that the gunfire was directed at two cars, who failed to obey the order to stop, but missed them.

Israeli soldiers also came under small arms fire and grenade attacks July 17 south of the village of Ansariyeh. Early on July 15, an Israeli armoured vehicle drove over a landmine in Sidon and a loud explosion rocked the city. Foreign reporters in the city said they were prevented from getting near the scene of the explosion, but that they saw ambulances heading towards the scene. Israeli soldiers also opened fire indiscriminately after the incident. One local woman was wounded, but it is not known whether she was wounded from the explosion or from the soldiers' fire. Later, Israeli military sources claimed that three soldiers were wounded in the attack.

Among other attacks, an Israeli APC drove over a landmine near the village of Amiq in the eastern sector. *The Jerusalem Post*, which reported the story, claimed there were no injuries. Meanwhile, another landmine was detonated in the same area and a remote-controlled explosive device weighing 10 kilogrammes blew up July 14 three kilometres south of Tyre. In another incident on the same day, light arms fire was directed from speeding vehicles at the home of the Israeli-backed local militia in the village of Bar'ashit. Lebanese reporters said that two militiamen guarding the house were wounded.

Israeli Liaison Office in Lebanon Must Close

The minister of security in Lebanon, Adel Eseiran, formally ordered the Israeli liaison office in Beirut closed July 18. The office, in Dbieh area, near Beirut, was under the control of Lebanese right-wing militias. Eseiran said that the closure will be effective on July 25. Eseiran said that he gave a letter to Colonel Fawzi Abu Farhat, the head of the Lebanese-Israeli military liaison team, who in turn handed the letter to the Israelis.

The Israeli liaison office, the first Israeli political office to operate in Lebanon, has always been a subject of controversy in the country. It was opened after the signing of the joint Lebanese-Israeli agreement May 17, 1983, under US auspices. Lebanon's president Amin Gemayel ordered it closed in March after the victory of the Lebanese national forces in Lebanon mountain and Beirut and consequent pressure on his government to abrogate the agreement. Israeli authorities refused to close down the office until it received an offical request from the Lebanese government.

Rashid Karami, the Lebanese prime minister, had said last month he intended to close the office. An unidentified Israeli official confirmed that the office was officially closed but Israeli authorities wanted a base for relations with pro-Israeli factions within the Lebanese government.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 220, July 20, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	15
Number of articles totally censored out	1
Number of articles delayed	2
Number of articles partially censored but used	1
Number of articles passed	11

continued from page 1

Settlement Blitz

raeli control over the Jordan Valley hills as a security line for Israel.

The third squatter-settlement was set up July 1, east of al-Bireh. Eight military tents and two civilian tents were erected with the help of the Binyamin regional settlement council. The regional council, which loaned settlers an electric generator and water tanks, is also planning to help open a road to the settlement. The *Jerusalem Post* reported July 17 that a seven-month-old baby was part of the settlers' entourage. Meanwhile, settlers were busy with heavy equipment opening new roads and preparing land for construction in various parts of the West Bank. Settlers were seen working on Arab-owned land in Abu Dis, southeast of Jerusalem, and opening roads for new and old settlements near the Arqoub villages, Husan, Nahalin and Wadi Fukin, south of Bethlehem (see accompanying stories).

Throughout last week, settlers levelled ground for a road leading to a settlement site called Beitar, planned to be built near the village of Battir, south of Bethlehem. On paper, the settlement is planned as a major urban area and is scheduled to be settled by new immigrants, although monthly immigration figures have fallen precipitously.

Yizhar settlement, in the Ramallah area, has been advertised as ready for construction within the week. Both Yizhar and Adam settlements received government approval by the Israeli ministerial settlement committee in April.

In addition to the new settlement site, the Israeli government is planning to transfer 11 nahal military outposts in the West Bank and Gaza Strip — built under security pretexts — into regular civilian settlements. Israeli newspapers said that non-uniformed settlers will start moving into these outposts next week.

The Israeli government settlement drive was criticised by the Jewish Agency settlement department head, Ra'anan Weitz, last April. After the Israeli ministerial committee approved construcion of 25 new settlements, Weitz said that the government was making hasty decisions by approving settlements without providing funds for them. The Israeli finance ministry, at pains to control the collapsing Israeli economy, initially refused to transfer further funds for settlement construction.

The opposition Labour party charged the ruling Likud coalition with building new settlements as an attempt to win new voters before the elections. Israeli newspapers speculate that settlers' councils in the West Bank and Gaza Strip will attempt to immediately erect nucleus settlements on all sites which the ministerial settlement committee approves. The *Yediot Aharanot* correspondent quoted Israeli settlers as saying that they are not certain that the Likud government will win the elections and that they do not know whether the Alignment would allow the same rate of settling. The Alignment was responsible for the first 10 years of settlement in the occupied territories, during which major portions of the richest West Bank land were confiscated and settlement-cities were constructed.

"At the beginning of a meeting of the ministerial committeee for settlement affairs July 16, Minister Yuval Ne'eman refuted a statement by the Alignment that the annual budget for settlements in the West Bank was US$500 million. Ne'eman said the charge was a distortion of the truth and that only half a percent of the national budget is spent on settlements.

"The Peace Now movement disclosed that they were informed that Kiryat Arba settlers intend to put up a showcase settlement in the centre of Hebron before the elections.

"Amana, the settlement movement of Gush Emunim, denied the news about preparations for settlement in the heart of Hebron.

"Peace Now appealed to security forces in the occupied territories requesting them to stop the settlement blitz. The movement's spokesperson, Amiram Goldblum, told the Israeli daily *Hadashot*: 'Stopping the settlers' plans would need a few soldiers but the withdrawal of settlers will need brigades'." (Translation: Hadashot, July 17, 1984)

Settlers Bulldoze Land Despite Stop-Work Order

Israeli settlers began opening a road on privately owned Palestinian land in the village of Husan, Bethlehem district, July 13 in violation of a 1983 stop-work order by the military objections committee. The landowners lawyer protested the continuation of settler work on the land while the owners are challenging the confiscation order in court. Advocate Ali Ghuzlan told *Al Fajr* that positive progress in the land case in favour of the landowners had apparently prompted settlers to work *de facto* to change the land features before a final court decision was reached.

The land in question — an estimated 4000 dunums of land from the Arquob villages of Husan, Wadi Fukin and Nahalin — was confiscated by the Israeli military authorities in June 1981 and declared state property. Settlers already have dug up a large section for the planned road and are preparing to build a settlement on the confiscated land.

Ghuzlan sent letters to the Israeli military objections committee and the West Bank military governorate in Beit El July 14 charging the settlers with violating the order *nisi* which obliges Israeli authorities and landowners not to make any changes in the land until a final verdict is issued by the military objections committee.

Nearby, Israeli authorities' bulldozers began last week to widen a 15-metre road which will link the Husan road with Israeli settlements on the other side of the 1967 'green line' borders. Scores of trees were uprooted, supporting walls demolished and a water supply pipe damaged. The land which the military authorities declared as 'state property' extends from Khalet Sarawil in Husan to Merah Ghuzlan in Nahalin and borders the road leading to the Gush Etzion block of settlements.

Ghuzlan charged that Israeli authorities are completing a circle of settlements around the Arquob villages. "It is part of their scheme to confiscate more Palestinian land," advocate Ghuzlan said. In a court session June 17 Badr Anani, a land expert who has worked in land affairs since 1935, presented his report to the military objections committee in which he concluded that the *Tabu* registration and maps submitted to the committee included more extensive areas than the land declared 'state property.' The session was postponed until July 22 to hear more reports from landowners.

Dheisheh's PW Bloc Secretary Wounded

Israeli soldiers placed Dheisheh refugee camp, Bethlehem district, under curfew July 14, after the attack on the secretary of the Progressive Workers Block in the camp, Hassan Jibril Manna'.

Manna', who is 65 years old, was taken to Hussein hospital in Beit Jala with stab wounds and injuries over various parts of the body, especially the head. Later he was transferred to Hadassah hospital in West Jerusalem and then to Makassed hospital in Arab East Jerusalem, where he remained in critical condition. Hospital sources say that his right arm is partially paralysed.

In the aftermath of the assault, the attackers fired shots to prevent residents from giving emergency treatment to the wounded man. Large crowds of residents, however, confronted them and marched to the houses of the attackers and set the houses and four of their cars on fire. The offenders fled the camp fearing revenge from the camp residents.

Israel television reported July 17 that Israeli authorities arrested 13 youths from the camp on suspicion of demonstrating.

Meanwhile, several delegations from the camp visited the wounded man in hospital. (Translation: Al Talia, July 19, 1984)

Teacher Arrested Over Private Library

Gaza resident Mohammed Hassan al-Awour, who is current is being held in Rafah detention centre, submitted an affidavit this week to lawyer Felicia Langer describing his arrest on June 20.

On June 7 the police visited Mohammed, a teacher in Rafah, at his house and 'borrowed' 98 of the books in his private library. According to al-Awour's testimony, the books were "for reading and general education and not for any type of dissemination." Among the collection police took were: Marxist books; *The Disease of Childishness in Leftism; Lenin and Ghassan Kanafani; poetry by Mahmuod Darwish* and *These Are My Brothers*, by al-Awour's lawyer Felicia Langer.

In addition to books, the Israelis were also interested in videotapes (which became eligible for censorship after the law was changed one year ago) of programmes recorded from Israeli and Jordanian television, and audio cassettes. Trying to complete their own collection of Palestinian magazines, they confiscated year-old copies of *Al Bayadar* and *Al Audah*, periodicals which can be brought from any East Jerusalem newsstand.

Two weeks after this incident, Mohammed was arrested from the school where he teaches for a 'routine' 18-day detention. The military judge then remanded him for another 15 days, despite the fact that he does not know, and has not been told, which books are forbidden for him to keep. In fact, there is no comprehensive list of banned books and no criteria for censorship. Mohammed told Felicia Langer that he regards his treatment as an attempt to punish him for his leftist political views. "I'm completely innocent. My only crime is that I dared to read books in my house which are on sale in the open market."

Shaka'a's House Guards Removed

The border guard patrol, stationed since the beginning of 1981 at the gate of Bassam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus, was removed at the beginning of July. Shaka'a and his advocate, Felicia Langer believe "it is possibly a temporary step."

He explained: "It is possible they want to record the psychological effects on me after removing the patrol."

Langer, who visited Shaka'a July 17, told *Al Fajr*: "For the first time in 42 months Shaka'a and his family can enjoy their privacy and liberty in watching the beautiful landscape around his house in Rafidia quarter.

In the beginning of 1982, authorities removed the border guard patrol. It was re-imposed in April 1983.

Shaka'a told *Al Fajr* that Israeli authorities did not notify him about this step, nor did they give him any explanations. "When they imposed the guard patrol at the gate of my house, they could not give adequate justifications," Shaka'a told *Al Fajr*.

Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus who was dismissed from his offices in March 1982 for his refusal to cooperate with the civil administration, complained and protested against his harassment by the Israeli border guards several times. His advocate, Langer, sent the first telegram of protest to Israeli authorities on June 4, 1981. She complained against soldiers' harassment of Shaka'a's visitors and friends. Since then many telegrams were sent to the authorities, but Shaka'a received no reply.

Kowkab Residents Boycott Israeli-Appointed Council

The population of Kowkab, a village in the Galilee, boycotted the opening ceremony of the appointment of a local council in the village July 15 in protest of the appointment of incapable and Israeli-associated members by Israeli authorities.

Only ten residents attended the failed ceremony, besides some guests from outside the village, which was chaired by Israel Koenig, the northern district commissioner. Also one of the proposed seven council members boycotted the meeting, which contributed to its failure in electing a head of the council. Three of the members who were present voted against the head, who was suggested by the commissioner. Then the commissioner cancelled the ceremony and decided to call the members to his office to hold a special session to solve the problem. The next day Koenig appointed a head for the council.

"This general boycott," said one member of a local committee, "reflects the rejection by the population of such an anti-democratic step." He explained that all the candidates suggested for membership of the local council are either incapable or collaborators.

The rest of the residents hold the same views. "We know," said Abu Ghazi, a lorry driver, "that according to Israeli law, the council can be set up either through appointment by the district commissioner or elections, but why should they appoint suspicious and unexperienced people?"

The struggle by Kowkab's residents to force the Israeli government to set up a local council started four years ago. First they signed petitions and sent them to the Israeli officials. In the beginning the Israeli authorities ignored the demand and afterwards they sent a negative reply under the pretext that there were family disputes in the village.

A year ago the authorities were forced to agree to the demand after the villagers resorted to court.

Since there was a decision to set up a local council in Kowkab, the district commissioner, who was empowered by Interior Minister Yosef Burg, has been looking for people who might agree with the Israeli official policy regardless of their ability to administer local affairs. He did not suggest membership of the council to any of those who have been active all the time in local affairs.

So far village affairs have been cared for by local committes which were elected by the population, without problems. All vital projects such as electricity, running water and internal roads, which were extended to the village only in the 1970s, were sponsored by the local committees and totally financed by the population.

Commenting on this step, Omar Abu al-Haija, a political activist said: "The appointment of a local council of this kind is in harmony with the oppressive Israeli policy which aims at tightening their control over the Palestinian population."

Settlers Brutalise Ouja Man

Three settlers beat up a Palestinian resident of Ouja village, near Jericho, July 12. Toaimeh Hammad suffered head injuries and fainted when settlers used rifle butts, stones and fists against him. When residents of the village attempted to rescue Hammad, the settlers fired in the air for half an hour. Police arrived, but settlers openly threatened to attack the village at night and to open fire on any person they saw in the village.

The police ordered the settlers to the police station, but released them after one hour.

Ouja village is surrounded by four agricultural settlements and two other military settlements. (Translation: Al Talia, July 19, 1984)

Beduin Jailed 6 Months for Unlicenced House

Magistrates court in Afula, south of Nazareth, sentenced July 15 a Beduin from the Arab Shibli tribe to six months imprisonment, a six-month suspended term and a fine of IS20,000 for building an unlicensed house in the town in 1980.

Ali Saleh Talia, who works as a soldier in the Israeli army, was ordered to demolish his house (100 square metres) within 75 days. Talia appealed to the court the same day against the harsh sentence. He was given 10 days before starting to implement the court's decision.

PLP Court Case Challenges Language Discrimination

The Progressive List for Peace (PLP) submitted two appeals July 17 to the Israeli High Court relating to restrictions imposed on the Knesset election list. The first appeal relates to the municipality of Lydda (an Arab town until 1948, when it was repopulated by Jewish immigrants, mainly of Oriental origin) for refusing to stick the poster of the PLP on its official announcements boards. The poster bears Hebrew and Arabic print in equal size; however, the municipal bylaws state that posters should bear two-thirds Hebrew and only one-third of another language.

Local PLP activists expressed bitterness about this rule, stating that in a 'mixed town' where both Hebrew and Arabic-speaking inhabitants live, it discriminates by law.

The PLP's headquarters contacted the legal adviser of the municipality, who agreed to reconsider its position. After two days their ruling was reaffirmed and then the appeal to the High Court was submitted.

The PLP claims that it is ridiculous and unjust to limit public announcements to Hebrew in a town where there is a large recently-arrived Georgian population, most of whom do not speak Hebrew, and an Arab population, when Arabic is one of Israel's official languages. The PLP argued further that a British royal ordinance, still in power in Israel, compels the municipality to publish its own official announcements in both Hebrew and Arabic.

The appeal decision could set a legal precedent about the use of Israel's official languages of Hebrew and Arabic.

The PLP's other appeal to the High Court relates to the Ministry of Interior's refusal to provide the lists of voters according to voting places, lists that are provided to all the Central Elections Committee members (representatives of parties already in Knesset), because of a bureaucratic interpretation to withhold the information from new lists. The PLP said it considered this an annoyance.

Golan Youths Remanded Indefinitely

July 16 the Central Court in Nazareth renewed, for an indefinite period, the detention order against seven Druze residents of Majdal Shams in the Golan Heights. The seven were arrested 30 days ago on charges of violating the security order. The young residents, who face various charges, were remanded until the completion of legal procedures and the start of their trial.

Five people are facing charges of hoisting the Palestinian flag and illegal demonstration in the Golan Heights, and of throwing grenades at the houses of collaborators in Mas'ada and Majdal Shams. Two other people were charged with infiltrating through the Syrian borders.

During the first 15 days of detention, no news items were reported about the arrestees because the magistrates court in Acre banned any reports. Scores of residents in the Golan Heights attended the court's session. Reporters described the morale of the detainees' relatives as "high" and "good." Reporters were told by parents of the detainees that the sacrifice offered by the detainees is only a simple part of their duty. The detainees, whose ages range from 22 to 28, are: Said Mansour, Nizar Ayoub, Anwar Armoun, Mahmoud Awad, Suleiman Awad, Wafiq Ajami and Samih Nakhleh.

'Restricted' Journalist Appeals to Israeli Press

Radwan Abu Ayyash, a journalist from Ramallah, who is under a six-month town restriction order, appealed through advocate Felicia Langer to Israeli journalists to show solidarity with him, in order to pressure the government to remove the restriction order which was imposed on him by the West Bank military commander. In the appeal it was said that "the order constitutes a serious violation of Radwan's rights and has affected his life negatively."

It added that the order restricted his movement and freedom of work, "the thing which disconnected his social life from his journalistic work in the office in Jerusalem."

The statement remarks that this journalist affirms that he is a peaceful man and that his hand is extended for a just peace between the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples. "On this basis, the allegation that there are security reasons is a mere cover for such an arbitrary order which aims to harm this journalist," the statement adds.

The statement concludes: "He appeals to the journalists in Israel, asking for their professional solidarity, because he considers the violation of rights in the occupied territories as the violation of democracy in Israel." The general director of the Israeli Journalists' Association refused to comment on this appeal, saying that he does not know anything about the subject.

Bethlehem University Graduates 189

Bethlehem University, relatives of graduates and university guests attended the eighth annual graduation ceremony on the campus of the university July 14. One hundred and eighty-nine graduates got their BA degrees in art, science, business administration and nursing and 68 students received diplomas in village health work, pre-school teacher training, elementary school teacher training, secondary school teacher training and associate degrees in business administration. The total number of graduates from Bethlehem University is 1038 during the past eight years.

The ceremony was attended by heads of local universities and its board of trustees, heads of academic institutes and education departments, hospital directors, officials from foreign institutions which offer help to the university, councillors, cultural associates and relatives of graduates.

A musical band marked the start of the ceremony. The master of ceremonies, Mousa Darwish, chairperson of the public relations office, delivered the opening speech in which he welcomed the guests. Other speakers included the chairperson of the university, Michel Sabah and Hassan Qeeq from the Council of Higher Education who spoke about Bethlehem University and its developments. Among the speakers was Eidi Qasis who graduated in business administration with high marks.

One thousand and five hundred students are studying in the university.

Darwish told *Al Fajr* that graduation day at Bethlehem is an important day for all residents of the town who like to attend the ceremony.

Tent Settlement Moves into Abu Dis

Israeli settlers set up their tents and water containers July 10 on secretly declared closed land in Abu Dis village, six kilometres south of Jerusalem.

More than 100 landowners of the closed areas started their fight against the settlers' incursions and land closure orders. They began by collecting the tax registration documents of more than 100 residents who own 2500 dunums in Maghra, Rafeed, Rajm Ghazaleh, Um Shakhalib, Khallet al-Raheb, Hadab, Merah, Sha'eb Fteih Farha, Baten Bishara and Dinar mountains and valleys located to the southeast of Abu Dis.

According to Abu Dis landowners, the village *mukhtar*, Khaled Ibrahim Badr, received a notification from Israeli authorities about the closure of the land six months ago but did not notify the landowners. Badr claimed that he lost the order.

Residents of Abu Dis were surprised when they saw Israeli settlers moving onto their land on July 10. Since the early morning, Israeli lorries carrying water containers and tents along with settler families in their private cars moved into the Merah and Hadab areas where they erected 10 tents.

Salah Ayyad, a member of the newly formed land defence committee and the secretary of the Water Cooperative Society in Abu Dis, told *Al Fajr* that two settlers stopped by the society headquarters on the road leading to the village and asked him about the location of the new settlement called 'Neot Adomim.' One of them said the settlement was made up of a number of tents.

On July 11, settlers brought bulldozers to level the land and clear the area of rocks.

A day after the incursion, landowners signed a memorandum in which they affirmed that the land is part of their property and they have Turkish, British and Jordanian tax registration documents which prove their right to it. Landowners also said that they have not received any order of land closure or confiscation and they demanded the eviction of the settlers from their land. Several copies of the memorandum were sent to the military governorate in Bethlehem, to the Israeli military objections committee and the Israeli legal advisor of the West Bank military governorate.

Abu Dis *mukhtar* Issa Jaffal also sent a protest letter signed by landowners to the Bethlehem military governorate protesting against all campaigns of land confiscation in Abu Dis since 1970.

On July 16 residents of Abu Dis formed a six-member land defence committee which was authorised by landowners to collect property documents, contact concerned legal authorities, coordinate between lawyers and landowners and to organise publicity about the confiscation.

Reactions

Salah Ayyad told *Al Fajr* that the majority of Abu Dis' 12,000 residents wanted to fight the land closures in court. Abu Dis residents believe that the Likud government is using land confiscation to promote their election campaign.

According to the Jordanian land files, the borders of Abu Dis extend to the Dead Sea (25 kilometres east of Abu Dis). In 1970 Israeli authorities closed 18 kilometres of land extending from the Dead Sea to the west. In 1975 residents were allowed to use only two kilometres of their land.

In 1980 10 families in Abu Dis complained to the military objections committee against the confiscation of 2500 dunums of land for Ma'aleh Adumim settlement. In the first session, the military objections committee considered the confiscated land 'state property.' Advocate Darwish Nasser showe the committee tax registration documents and succeeded in cancelling the confiscation order. The authorities, however, declared the land a closed area.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

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Settlement Inflation

The collusion among Israeli political parties, government, police, army, business, religious establishments and paramilitary movements to sieze land in the occupied territories from its Palestinian owners and turn it over to Israeli settlers, acting for the state, is at no time more apparent than during Israeli election week.

As if the occupied territories were not occupied – by either Palestinian people or Israeli soldiers – the most militant settlers are scampering over West Bank hills and the Gaza coastline, pounding in stakes, putting out laundry and calling it 'settlement.' Some of the 16 settlements born in the two weeks prior to Israeli Knesset elections were approved four years ago (before a previous election) and never built; some were part of the 25-settlement package approved in April of this year when July elections were announced, some are 'maverick' settlements and have been erected with no approval other than a wink from a high place. They are *de facto* hedges should any post-election deflation in the settlement atmosphere occur.

Settler-squatters near Ramallah and Bethlehem were loaned military tents, water and generators by settlers' organisations and the army to make their poineer effort more comfortable. Some of their army friends are presumably reserve soldiers and officers who themselves are settlers. But there is little need for 'illegal' colonies when so many others are blessed by the government even before they hatch.

Gone are any security mumblings about the need for settlements for a proper defence as Israelis get down to the bedrock of their greed and political motivations. It has always been open season for Palestinian land. Now the pace is faster and more and more of the flimsy impediments – annoyances really – are being pulled aside by the Israelis in their rush to grab and to plant settlement mines, very high explosive devices, around Palestinian cities and people.

The so-called opposition parties, particularly Labour, which has projected an image internationally as being the saner half of the Israeli political circle, accept each new settlement as they accepted the invasion of Lebanon in 1982: in mute acceptance. Without the will to oppose, there is no opposition. And Palestinians must sit and watch their land being used in the Israeli election tug-of-war – with one side doing all the pulling.

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A Deafening Silence

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC, Correspondent

The absence of Arab officialdom from the Washington political scene has always been a foregone conclusion, with negligible aberrations that surface from time to time. Normally speaking, concerned parties, including American functionaries and observers, accept official Arab muteness in this capital as a continuation of the norm and explain it as a result of a combination of negatives. In some cases, however, such as that which still continues after the Israeli government's admission that two young Palestinians were in fact murdered by its 'security forces' in cold blood and the arrival into the US capital of Fadi Frem, the commander in chief of the Lebanese Forces, this Arab silence becomes tragic and anxiety provoking.

What is it, an American-Jewish friend asked, that makes twenty Arab ambassadors in Washington, DC ignore an issue such as the murder of two young Palestinians at the hands of Israeli forces at the same time that the bus hijacking tragedy created and continues to create an uproar both in Israel itself and in the US? In Israel, a commission of inquiry was established to investigate what exactly took place. The bodies of the two victims were exhumed in order to ascertain factual details later to be used as evidence in the case; an Israeli newspaper was closed for four days and Moshe Arens, the American-raised, educated, socialised and politicised Israeli defence minister was caught up suspiciously in the controversy. All of this while Arab officialdom is preoccupied with other issues. The American-Jewish friend doesn't know that the Arab establishment was busy focusing on the 'Persian invaders,' entertaining Israeli Zionist members of the Knesset in 'the land of King Hassan' of the Maghreb, and the Palestinian leaders calling each other names and debating the soundness and legality of last December's visit to Cairo by Yasir Arafat.

US State Department Commends Israel

Some observers said that Arab silence may have been in line with the American government's official reaction, praising the Israeli government not for the murder, of course, but for handling it in a 'civilised manner.' The American press, which all agreed, was the force behind exposing the tragedy, did perform its duties in bringing the issue to light.

When the issue was first brought to the attention of the State Department press office, there was no reaction on either the killing of the two youngsters or the destruction of their families' homes. The State Department used to issue statements opposing the demolition of houses as a form of collective punishment. Why the silence now? John Hughes, the spokesperson, did not reject that the act was a form of collective punishment but he nevertheless refused to deplore or condemn it. He also rejected the idea that his reply was an outcome of a new policy in this regard or that he would condone such acts in the future as forms of collective punishment. This time, however, he concluded that the US said 'all it wants to say.'

Later, the American government's official stand ceased to be passive. At the time that the Israeli press and public was engulfed in the details of this issue and the Israeli government findings affirmed that the two Palestinians were murdered, American government reaction was praise for Israel. "We have positively noted the statement of the [Israeli] Ministry of Defence and we commend the efforts of the government of Israel to make a thorough investigation of this matter," spokesperson Romberg said. Apparently shocked by this reaction, a reporter for a major news agency asked if that was all Romberg wanted to say about this affair, the answer to which was, "yes."

"Arab officials' reaction to the American government's disregard for Arab lives was a deafening silence."

Praise for Israel by the US government for appointing a commission to investigate this case would have been easy to take if it had also included a condemnation of the act itself. The US statement ignored the fact that the two young Palestinians were under the full control of Israeli authorities and under only their control, yet they were murdered.

This time also the US found only praise for Israel. Arab officials' reaction to the American government's disregard for Arab lives was a deafening silence.

Fadi Frem Welcomed at White House and State Department

It is hard to conclude whether Arab officials were following the US line on the affair of the two Palestinians or *vice versa*; the visit of Fadi Frem to the US, according to some experts, doesn't leave any doubt that Arab silence and apathy set the ground rules which the US followed.

Frem's visit to the US and his meetings at the White House and the State Department, said a former American government official, is more a reflection of "Arab shortcomings" than an American "love for Frem or his militias." According to this official, had the American government expected any kind of Arab reaction to the visit of the man most identified with the massacre of late 1982 at Sabra and Shatila, they would have refused him entrance to the US. While there must have been lobbying on his behalf by his friends and allies including 'AIPAC' (American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee) to enter the US, he continued, there was nothing to convince the US government to forbid the visit.

The issue of allowing Fadi Frem to visit the US becomes significant only when compared with those who were refused entry to the US and the reasons given for their refusal. There is American legislation regulating entry into the US for certain individuals. Those members of 'proscribed organisations' and members of Communist parties can be refused entry into this country. Under the category of proscribed organisations Palestinain poet Mahmoud Darwish was more than once turned down from attending conferences in the US as was Bishop Hilarion Capucci. As members in the Communist party, Nobel Prize winning novelist Garcia Marquez and the wife of slain Chilean President Salvador Allende, who also is a member of the World Peace Council, were refused entry to the US.

continued on page 6

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Livia Rokach contributed to *Al-Fajr* from September 1982 until March 1984. The above statement was published by some of her colleagues and friends in Italy in *Il Manifesto* (April 25,1984) as a political eulogy.

We Remember Livia...

We want to remember Livia Rokach, her intellectual rigour, her militant commitment and her passionate devotion to the cause of people that are struggling for real liberation and to affirm their real identity.

Livia Rokach was born in Tel Aviv in 1934. At the age of 23 she came to Rome as a correspondent for Israel Radio and for the daily *Davar* She was accused after the Six Day War in 1967 of defending the interests of the Palestinians and of being a 'communist-lover,' and was dismissed from both jobs.

And so from her commitment in Italy and abroad on the side of the people who are oppressed minorities, her writing and her militant conducting of committees of support and solidarity that she herself helped to organise and promote, she knew no rest and invaded all her personal space and affections for those whom she jealously and discreetly defended.

Her death came by her choice on March 31, at the moment when she, a Jewess by birth and a Palestinian by land and choice, refused to accept this ultimate, final and seemingly banal eviction order that was imposed upon her. It was not a private death. It was a death that screamed for the publication of the truth, an appeal, a warning that asks to be heard.

We, her friends – for whom friendship means profound esteem, a strong support of her ideals, even in the diverse and alternative forms in which she could explain her course – while we want to render testimony to her, we believe that no memory or regret can be adequate: it would fall short of comprehending this appeal and warning.

The truth that screams through the life and death of Livia Rokach and the conflict that runs through our era – from the powers that operate with increasing ruthlessness in their own interest and to represent their particular values, to the extent that they identify their own real intangibility and security with the destruction of their opponents, conflicts like the contra-opposition of Israel and the Palestinians, which found more symbolic and radical expressions – these conflicts don't lead to the victory of one over the other but cumulate in the same destiny of death for both, a destiny which renders life impossible for either, even now.

Livia Rokach has lived this conflict on one part of the front, in an unmistakeable choice of field. In Vietnam, in the defence of political prisoners and of victims of the Saigon regime and the US occupation forces. In Palestine, and during the war in Lebanon, she immediately and incessantly denounced the oppression and terrorism against the Palestinian population in the occupied areas, such as Beirut.

But while she took one side she suffered incredibly inside herself for the faults of the others, so that as the conflict blazed over the land, inside herself she was like two peoples, both passionately present within her, not out of necessity but out of alternative politics and history. Whichever side she took, it could not eliminate the contradictions. On the contrary, it sharpened them, so that death came from both sides. Her anti-Zionism, for which the Jewish community vehemently condemned her, was in reality the strong will to deny that the background, birth, language and culture of a people forces it, by necessity, to be irreconcilable and intractable towards an enemy and that, therefore, all should be subordinated – government, public opinion, institutions – to the needs and convenience of the struggle against this enemy. To remain with the Palestininans, for Livia Rokach, meant to deny the enemy, but to deny the enemy meant to deny the death and destruction of her own people, while in contesting their institutions she foretold exactly this destiny.

Believing that she could no longer do anything to change the course of things and because the rigour of her analysis and of her writing, being the kind of journalist she was, always brought results that were less than consistent with common feeling and tendencies – instead she removed all light and shade, all compromise, not so much politically, but so much intellectually – Livia Rokach was the poor victim of the irresolvable inner conflict.

Now, remembering her work, the precious contribution of all her knowledge and of all her interpretations of events, her trust in her own assumption of responsibility, it seems from her last words that these conflicts were not dominant but were irreducible and lived without an outlet. She resolved that the negation of the one profited the other. They expressed the same impossibility to live, the loss of a future and death for all.

But then this itself is a symbolic expression of the Palestinian conflict: it does not only regard the Jews, nor only the Palestinians, nor only Jewish Palestinians, it regards all of us because we are all immersed and involved in this conflict, no matter how much some may wish to distance the West from the East, the North from the South, the dominant from the dominated, those who pose the nuclear menace and the destinations of that menace. The conflict will destroy us unless we can break it.

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continued from page 5

Silence

We asked the State Department to explain the discrepancy between those who were denied entry and Mr Frem, especially in light of his group's involvement in the Sabra and Shatila, Kufr Matta and other massacres. We were told, "He apparently does not fit under any of those categories." Another official whom we questioned said, "Don't be harsh on us in this matter." The official went on to say that the decision on entry of individuals to the US is made and based on "whether [the organisation the individual belongs to] is a terrorist organisation or not." The US government does not classify the Lebanese Forces under the command of Fadi Frem as a terrorist organisation. Mahmoud Darwish, one of the best known Arab poets and a Palestinian, Bishop Capucci, a Catholic and also a Palestinian, are refused entry as members of a 'terrorist organisation.' We asked the official if the State Dapartment knows whether Frem's group was or was not involved in the Sabra and Shatila massacre or if they simply do not know and decided to give him the benefit of the doubt. The response of the official: to hide behind a technicality of not divulging information collected through intelligence means.

In further justification of Frem's visa, the official said, "The US is interested in the reconciliation process" in Lebanon and Frem's presence here, it was made clear, will help that US objective. Not quite comfortable with this, the official went on to say, "I recognise that the policy [on who to allow entry into the US] is somewhat capricious, but," he concluded, "it depends on what US objectives are."

There is another clear contradiction in the US stand in praising Israel's 'legal' and 'civilised' approach both with the two Palestinians and the apathy it demonstrated, compared to not condemning Frem, who is the most closely identified with the Sabra and Shatila massacres, and allowing him to enter this country. If Israel is to be praised, then Frem and his group should likewise be condemned and his entry rejected, unless the US knows that Frem's group was not responsible for Sabra and Shatila. Those responsible for the massacre could only have been either the Lebanese Forces

The Arab paralysis in Washington used to be a joke. For years now it has been a painful reality and most predictable by political hands – Israelis, Americans and Arabs themselves.

Professor Edward Said of Columbia University commented on some aspects of Arab inaction in a recent interview. "The relationship," he said, "between the rulers and the ruled in the Arab world is a relationship of hostility and one of an adversarial nature. Every Arab tends to feel that his government is the enemy...." Maybe those who should act on behalf of the Arab peoples' interest, their rulers, define those interests in a context which includes only their own interests, as ruling elites, and not the nation as a whole. Thus the death of two young Arabs in Israel and the visit to Washington, DC, of Frem, while thousands of Palestinians are refused entry to the US to attend legitimate conferences and conventions, reflect the sad state of the Arab ambassadors. These are only two of the daily issues that arise in the US of utmost concern to the Arab people but which pass by hardly noticed. The consensus here is that things are not progressing but regressing.

Nadim Rouhana, director of Najah University's documentation and research centre, discovered evidence of increasing Palestinian alienation in the Jewish state when he looked at characteristics of the university student population — *half* of whom study abroad. The following article was first published in the Haifa-based *Al-Jadid* magazine (May 1984).

Palestinian Students in Israel: Few Choices Except Self-Exile

The Palestinian society in Israel is characterised by its almost complete dependence on Zionist institutions. These Zionist institutions were established to serve the basic interests of the Jewish state, which aims to serve Jewish society in Israel and to carry out preparations to absorb immigrating Jews. Israel, therefore, is a unique state from the perspective of its institutions. It boasts that it is the state for Jews living in it and outside. This definition differs from the fact that it should be the state of all residents, without ethnic or religious discrimination.

In spite of that, one notices that the Palestinian society in Israel has undergone qualitative and quantitative changes during the last 30 years. Most of these changes have occurred despite the authorities' policies.

Among these changes is the increase in the proportion of Palestinian university students and graduates. Despite the still great difference between the ratio of Arab to Jewish students and graduates, we should look at the educational level which Palestinian society has reached in a different way than we perceive Jewish society.

The Palestinian educational system is totally dependent on the government educational system. The goals of elementary, secondary (and university) education are dictated by the curricula designed by the Zionist establishment, which also helps to finance it, fully or partially. Since the goal of Zionist institutions is to serve Jewish society, it is not extraordinary to discover great discrimination in the level of all forms of educational services provided to Arab schools. We, therefore, should look at the achievement of Arab society through this perspective.

Palestinian society is also characterised by distrust of governmental institutions and authorities. Arabs do not only believe that they are ignored by governmental institutions but also that the authorities have evil intentions towards them. Nevertheless, there is no other authority to look after the general daily needs of the Palestinians in Israel.

Since our particular interest in this study is student affairs, we should be aware that there is no national Arab authority to look into the academic and scientific affairs of Palestinians at any level or to take an interest in scientific planning in order to advise Arab students in choices in the field of education which would guarantee their employment and, at the same time, serve their society. Likewise, there is no authority to take care of social changes which take place and to establish scientific, cultural, industrial or other institutions capable of absorbing new scientific cadres.

Basic data shows that Arab students in Israel cannot study any subject they wish. There is some freedom in choosing but it is not absolute. Even if a student chose to study in a foreign country what he was not permitted to in Israel, there would be no guarantee of later employment for reasons we are all familiar with. Thus an Arab cannot get 'the job of his dreams.'

Given this basic data, we cannot depend on official government policy to establish a true educational authority. As this study makes clear, there is a great need to prepare scientific studies which can contribute to scientific planning, professional guidance and the establishment of various institutions which would absorb our graduates in all fields.

This study, the first comprehensive one of its kind, focuses on assessing basic information on students and graduates. Unfortunately, Israeli universities do not provide information on Arab students for a variety of reasons. Thus we were compelled to carry out a complete survey in every Arab town and village.

"In the next few years some 800 physicians will graduate. The local social and economic structure must be ready to absorb them or they will emigrate to seek jobs."

The research was done in the summer of 1982 by 15 research assistants who worked in the Galilee and the Triangle. Information was not gathered from the Naqab. Nor does the study include information from Nazareth, Haifa, Ar'ara and Kufr Manda. It should be kept in mind that figures here on the number of students and graduates do not include these areas.

With the information gathered on institutions and students, it is now possible to answer preliminary questions on their number, place of study, subjects studied, etc. This article deals with the characteristics of Arab students and the characteristics of university graduates. A student in this study was identified as any person pursuing university education at any level, regardless of whether he was working or not. The information gathered from students showed the following characteristics:

a) There is a high percentage of students studying abroad — 41.2 percent of the total number of students. The percentage would be even higher if we added to the total the number of students abroad from Nazareth and Haifa; it is highly probable that the number of students from cities who study abroad is higher than those from villages.

While the phenomenon of students studying abroad is not new, the number has risen sharply during the last ten years. In fact, in some villages (like Bi'neh, Deir al-Assad, Deir Hanna, Ibillin, Kufr Yasif, Nahaf, Tamra, Ailaboun, 'Ara, Bir al-Sikkeh, Ibthan, Taibeh and many other villages) over half of the students were enrolled abroad. In other villages (like al-Maker, al-Mazra'a, Sha'ab, Abu Snan, Barta'ah, al-Fraidis, Marjeh, Zalafeh, Kufr Qassem and Qalansawa) over two-thirds of the total number of students study abroad. This represents a sharp increase from previous years, when the percentage of graduates from foreign schools did not exceed 20 percent. If we categorise students according to geographical residence, we see that the highest ratio of those studying abroad is in the southern Triangle, where the ratio is 53.9 percent of all students, while the ratio in the northern Triangle is 45.9 percent.

Probably such high ratios of students abroad do not exist in any other society in the world. Naturally, these ratios must be perceived within the general political and social conditions under which the Palestinians live in Israel, within the official and unofficial policy of racial discrimination of Zionist ideology which is carried out by the Israeli authorities against those whom they call 'non-Jews.'

These high ratios must warn us about the possibility of emigration. A student who has studied in a Western country is much more likely to emigrate than a student educated in Israel because the first student has become familiar with and physically linked to a new culture. This encourages him to emigrate, especially if the chances of absorption in his own society are small. In fact, it is a realisation of the racist (Israeli northern governor Israel) Koenig document of 1976, which advocated encouraging Arab students to study abroad and placing obstacles against their return after graduation.

No matter how aware of the consequences of these policies we are, it is the duty of national institutions to fight them and to create alternatives by establishing institutions to provide job opportunities for graduates.

The second characteristic seen among these students is the high proportion of medicine and dentistry students. There are 851 students studying medicine and dentistry from the villages and towns in which the research was done, or about 32 percent of the total number of students. The demand for studying medicine and dentistry is due to a number of factors: the medical profession is regarded as a 'respected' profession and doctors enjoy high status; there is a general shortage of physicians in the Arab sector; the profession is profitable; and, finally, doctors can work independently in private clinics and thus escape the political pressures which the authorities put on other professions.

In 1982 the number of medical students in Israel was 4.1 percent of the total number of students, but in the Arab sector alone the number was eight-fold higher. When we looked into the distribution of medical students among the villages, towns and cities, we noticed that it is not necessarily governed by the demands in every population centre. In some villages there is a surplus in the number of future physicians while in others there are none. In Shafa 'Amr, for instance, there are 59 medical students (out of 198) in addition to 27 doctors. In Ibillin, 34 out of 74 students. In Kufr Yasif, which has a population of less than 6000 residents, there are 61 medical students out of a total of 137, in addition to 19 physicians. Abu Snan village has 28 out of 39 students, with an additional 14 physicians. In 'Ara, there are 25 students out of 43; in Kufr Qare', 24 out of 72; and in Kufr Qassem, 22 out of 79 students.

On the other hand, we find a number of other villages which have a very limited number of medical students or physicians. In a third group of villages, like Bir al-Maksur, Ain al-Assad, Yanouh, al-Sawa'ed, al-Na'oura, Touba, Tamra al-Jalil al-Sharqi, Taibeh al-Jalil al-Sharqi, Rummaneh, Wadi al-Hamam, Ibtin, Beit Naquba, Ain Rafeh and a number of others, there are no medical students or physicians. In 24 Palestinian villages there are no medical students at all and in 56 villages there are no resident physicians.

Despite the acute overall shortage of physicians in Palestinian society, the distribution of students is not suitable to cover this shortage. The number of practising physicians is nearly 300, and in the next few years some 800 physicians will graduate. The local social and economic structure must be ready to absorb them or they will emigrate to seek jobs. The majority of students (and 91 percent of all medical students) are studying abroad. We must be concerned about the possibility of their emigration.

How are students distributed in other subjects? Ten percent study scientific subjects, 14 percent study engineering (half study construction engineering), 10 percent study behavioural and cultural sciences, while the rest study history and languages. The ratio of students who continue to an advanced level is very small in all subjects.

The third distinguishing characteristic of the student population is the high ratio of medical students who study abroad compared to students in other fields. Up to 71 percent of the total number of students abroad are studying medicine or dentistry. Students who study abroad, especially medical students, are concentrated in a few countries. In addition to the estimated

continued on page 11

Edward Said, one of the most well-known Palestinian intellectuals in the diaspora, was interviewed by *Al-Fajr's* US correspondent, **Ghassan Bishara**, in Washington. Said argues for greater organisation, mobilisation, coherence in policy and an understanding of the place of armed struggle within the context of overall struggle, in order to stop the loss of land and lives in the next difficult period.

Said Calls for Strategy of 'Integrated Power'

Currently Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, New York, Edward Said is a former member of the Palestinian National Council (PNC) and is one of the most called upon articulators of the Palestinian cause in the West. He spoke to Al Fajr *while in Washington, DC in May for a speaking engagement.*

Respected among academics in his chosen field of comparative literature, Said has also authored several important books on the Middle East: Orientalism, The Question of Palestine, *and* Covering Islam *and so 'stands different.' To many of his fellow Palestinians, Said is also a controversial figure.*

We first asked Said to comment on the nature of the crises which the PLO has undergone in the last two years, such as the Israeli invasion, the mutiny within Fatah, the war in Tripoli, open friction with Syria and the controversy around Arafat's visit to Cairo.

Said: "...There was no way that most of it could have been avoided. The mutiny was unavoidable (and) as a result, the events in the north were unavoidable. From the Israeli point of view, there was no question that Beirut had become a centre of Palestinian nationalism and that it had to be destroyed. What happened in 1982-83 was the result of the natural discrepancy between the existence of an independent Palestinian nationalist movement, the Arab environment and Israel...Yet, so far as Lebanon was concerned, I don't think that everything that happened in 1982 was inevitable.

The military performance in the south was a function of the standing army concept which, I think, was a great trap. An assessment has to be made of how things went wrong with the deep involvement in Lebanese politics; but that any form of a visible Palestinian nationalist centre in Beirut could have gone on without attracting Israeli and Arab response, would have been impossible. The mutiny in Fatah was a function of that too. There was an attempt to reassess and to dispute the mode of leadership which had essentially been by consensus. Such a leadership can never last very long in a community that is divided in terms of geography and also because you are dealing with a highly politicised community open to many influences visible to and interested in attracting the attention of the outside world. Consensus and visibility are direct responses to the fragmentation and invisibility of Palestinian life prior to the late 1960s.

Q: You do think then, that the mutiny began as an attempt to reassess what went wrong in Lebanon?

A: That is certainly my impression and I don't think there is any question about that. It was natural that people would be dissatisfied with the consequences of the war. Every Palestinian felt that something had gone seriously wrong and that this came after a series of defeats, this one (Lebanon) being the largest, which in a sense includes all the others.

On the one hand, there was a political trend beginning in 1974 suggesting that the Palestinian movement was heading towards a political resolution of the conflict; yet, on the other hand, many members of the militantly active community were under the impression that they were doing something else...I do not think it was ever made clear enough that the actual political programme of the Palestinians was crystallised in such a way as to leave no doubt in anybody's mind where we were going, towards a political settlement along the lines spelled out in PNC resolutions, the Fez and Brezhnev plans, etc. So, I think the mutiny developed out of that reassessment on the one hand and dissatisfaction with ambiguity — and of course corruption — on the other. The two together blew up.

Q: As a former PNC member and one who gained the respect of the leadership, do you believe that they recognised the need to reassess? And was there a reassessment?

A: The overriding priority in Palestinian politics over the last ten years was to come up with responses to, one after another, a series of crises. If you have an immediate crisis, you cannot reflect and reassess; you must find ways to go on. Ironically, when we needed the most time to reassess, after Beirut, it was the time of our greatest emergency: the mutiny and then the events in northern Lebanon, part of the continuing threat to the independent existence of the Palestinian national movement. So reassessment was put off. But in the nature of things, there is some sort of reassessment going on anyway because you are dealing essentially with thinking people.

Another criticism that could be made (is that) we have not really had within the Palestinian community a seriously studied institutional mechanism for reassessment. Last February's PNC meeting in Algiers could have been that, but it turned into a display of national unity. Had part of the time been devoted to an attempt to understand the past and to project a programme for the future, rather than seeking and (focusing only) on national unity, you would have had a mutiny anyway, but you might have also had some greater building space in which to reassess and then to plan deliberately for the future.

Q: How important in your view is national unity through factions represented under the PLO umbrella?

A: Do not misunderstand me: I think national unity is very important. Yet it can be quantified and measured. There has been national unity. Given a highly politicised community, there are always going to be a number of people who are dissatisfied and who cannot be included under the umbrella of national unity. The level of national unity in the territories and within most Palestinian communities elsewhere is sufficient. I do not think national unity needs to be fetishised and to become an end in itself. The results of what happened in Tripoli and after (show) no signs of any tremendously important threat to or diminution in the authority of Arafat's symbolic and leadership position, unless after a period of considerable inaction courageous leadership is exercised.

Q: Will changing the decision-making in PLO agencies from unanimity to majority be considered as a step forward?

A: Absolutely. This is true in general of all political organisations as they advance towards greater effectiveness and maturity. Once you have achieved political and organisational maturity, which we have, then decision-by-majority is the only way to proceed. (Otherwise) you lower the threshold of real action and it either becomes impossible or imperceptible. You (would then be) simply reaffirming your existence and that is not enough. That is a stage we already passed in the late 60s and early 70s.

The Need to Lead

Q: Do you believe steps have been taken, since the PLO left Beirut in the fall of 1982, to move towards Palestinian objectives in light of the new reality?

A: I do not think that enough steps have been taken to state categorically what the objectives are. If the policy is essentially based on the principle of partition, you find a remarkable discrepancy between intra-Palestinian discussions about a projected settlement and the discussions that are conducted by Palestinians internationally. The principle of partition, for example, has not only become the international consensus but the Palestinian consensus in international forums, as well as the Arab consensus; ; but it is not sufficiently the consensus within the Palestinian community itself. I find this most extraordinary because I believe the role of a serious political organisation is educational not simply to give the people what is easiest to give them. I find this puzzling, (and) there may be political and psychological reasons for it that I don't understand.

Q: Considering that Palestinians by and large support the PLO and Arafat, on what do you blame the lack of clarity and the discrepancy between the positions you described above?

A: I do not know. I have spent more time thinking about this than about anything else. Probably the major reason is geographic — dispersion — which makes educating a community extremely hard. Also, there has always been a justifiable and understandable fear that if you begin to change and clarify, you are going to lose people and dissipate your political will. Moreover, if you are already getting support, financial resources and political legitimacy in the Arab world, then there is no pressure on you to change. (Finally) we have not sufficiently taken into account the complicated nature of our enemy: Israelis are not simply white racist settlers like the South Africans. Arafat (had) put forward the most powerfully reaching political message in the region: the coexistence of numerous communities in one territory. You need to develop that idea instead of letting it seem, as put forward in Israeli propaganda, that all we had in mind was 'the extermination of the Jews.' I feel we did not devote much time to this.

Q: You do see Arafat's visit to Cairo in positive terms. What particulars can you point out, six months after?

A: I think the role of Egypt is frequently exaggerated. We demonised it when Sadat went to Jerusalem and did the opposite during Nasser's period. There is no question that (the visit) shows maximum tactical flexibility on the part of the Palestinian leadership...There is no question that the trip to Cairo...was fundamentally important for that reason.
Considering what the Syrians were trying to do, the visit was a reassertion of a natural connection between the Palestinian revolution and Egypt.

Q: Do you agree with those who now perceive the PLO to be irrelevant? If so, how and why?

A: The PLO has always been more important symbolically and politically than militarily, but it is true that there has been a lowering of its profile since 1982. The absence of a base for cultural and social activities has made a difference. To say that the PLO is irrelevant is, however, to say that the struggle of Palestinians for self-determination is irrelevant, which is not the case. There is no question that we have to make the PLO more relevant, and that means in my view a much fuller political participation: the voice of Palestinians has to be heard much more loudly than it is being heard now.

Q: What is the "new mode of struggle" that you have suggested Palestinians are beginning to develop for the achievement of their goal?

A: The essence of our struggle has been two-fold. One aspect is the assertion of the existence of the Palestinian nation (versus Zionist and Western claims up until the 60s that the Palestinians were a miscellaneous body that could be resettled). Now there is no doubt in anybody's mind that the notion of a Palestinian people is firmly established. The other aspect of our struggle is the land. While the Weizmann Zionist programme was articulated in accumulating "one more acre and one more goat," from the Palestinian point of view it has been the opposite, that is, we have lost acre after acre, goat after goat.

For the last fifteen years we have been poised on the edge of a form of struggle that would stop the loss of land which is going on. Unlike (Meron) Benvenisti (former West Jerusalem deputy mayor and head of the West Bank Data Base Project), I am not one of those who believe that it is too late to reclaim the land. What we need is for our principal attention to be focused on an appropriate mode of struggle, which now has to be not only the reclamation of the land but also staying on the land, and the devising of sustained modes of struggle and organisational structures, eg that will (help us) to hold onto whatever land is still there and, if possible, to get more of it back. What you have to have then is a number of independent organisational efforts in the inside through all sorts of means — legal, economic, social and organisational — that can accomplish this. We now are just beginning to move towards that...

Q: Do you mean that, in order to regain Palestinian identity and nationhood, a certain mode of struggle was necessary and, that having been achieved, that now there is a need for a new one to regain the land?

A: Exactly. We do not have to keep reasserting our identity. We (must) convince ourselves that it is not necessary any more. What we need are ways of reclaiming the land; that is what the issue is all about in the end. It is not just an idea, it has to be an idea that has territorial and political significance on the ground. We are near, but we are not yet there.

Q: Reasserting Palestinian identity required some form of power; the reclamation of land also needs power. Do you think that the particular form of power that was necessary to achieve Palestinian identity was fully utilised, thus necessitating a new form of power for reclamation of the land, the second stage as you called it?

A: It depends on your conception of power. If you essentially take the view that power can more or less be everywhere, nearly everything can be turned into power, such as organisational, military, cultural and ideological power. So if you believe that, then you can say that the earliest stage of asserting Palestinian identity was also the result of many different kinds of power put into operation, including military power. Whether that was done to the maximum or not is not really important. The circumstances have been so incredibly changed, given the fact that there is no place in a country adjacent to Israel for the Palestinians to exercise that kind of power...You now have to seek new forms of power.

Q: Are you saying that the loss of territory from which to carry on the armed struggle alone necessitates finding new modes of struggle?

A: Probably not. Much effort, perhaps too much, was placed on certain kinds of immediately perceptible military power and not enough on other concepts of power. In any case, it is effectively over. There is no point in trying to relive that experience, but I certainly think we can learn from it. What we can learn is that power in this sense is integral: you cannot have military power that is distinct, separated and overdeveloped away from organisational and political power. You need an *integrated* notion of power that would include all of the above.

Making Israeli Gains Costly

Q: You would still agree that a form of power is still necessary to achieve the second stage of gaining the land?

A. You can do nothing of that sort without power, but what I am saying is that power is much more diverse than simply the power of the gun.

"An appropriate mode of struggle now has to be... the devising of sustained modes of struggle and organisational structure that will (help us) to hold onto whatever land is still there and, if possible, to get more of it back."

Q: How do you propose Palestinians and other liberation movements should achieve what they are seeking without the military factor?

A: The battle of Algiers was lost militarily in 1958 as the French occupied the city and defeated the FLN, yet the French military victory was turned into a political defeat by the FLN. Considering the circumstances that there is not going to be in the near future an adequate Arab military power to force an Israeli evacuation of the territories, and considering that the Palestinians cannot simply go to sleep until that happens, then what should be done is to make certain that the political, economic and social costs to Israel of holding Palestinian territory and civilians are very high. (This) means that you have to address positive currents within Israel and have to deal with that part of America which can potentially aid you in that struggle...If you do not have a real military option, then you have got to use other forms of pressure that are available to you...You formulate the goal in a way that is congruent with the circumstances; there is no point in dreaming about an Arab army. The Arab army (which is capable of threatening Israel) is not going to materialise, not in my lifetime. Neither is the great Arab nation going to awaken.

Q: What is the role of the PLO, if any, in all of this?

A: The PLO is the vanguard; it has to mobilise precisely all those instruments at its disposal, military and non-military. The national authority of the Palestinians needs to assess what it has in its arsenal, and it is not just 'x' number of rifles. We must not forget that Israel's opposition to Palestinian nationalism is total and totally polarising. Nearly everything is being contested between us because Israel cannot even begin to acknowledge our national existence.

Q: Does that include setting the ground for active Arab societies and armies?

A: It might include that. I have very little faith in the present political set-up in the Arab world, in that it is fundamentally incapable of (preparing for) the kind of mobilisation that we are talking about. Israeli society is fully mobilised. There is no Arab society that is mobilised in that way. The reason for this is that the relationship between the rulers and the ruled in the Arab world is a relationship of hostility, and one of adversarial rapacity and indifference in equal measure. Every Arab tends to feel that his or her government is an enemy, and that situation is not going to change very soon.

You have got to keep the focus on the land in such a way that you never lose sight of the main issue: you must not lose more land.

Q: You apparently differentiate between the slogan of 'armed struggle,' the carrying on of armed struggle, and maybe in the way that you would define 'armed struggle.' Do you see a role for armed struggle, either under your own definition or in any other way?

A: I certainly do not see a role for the repetition of the slogan. As early as 1969, the UN General Assembly voted that any liberation movement can use armed struggle as a means of gaining self-determination. The question is whether you want to include in your arsenal many other things as well, plus, of course, focusing aims and methods of armed struggle for effectiveness, rather than for show or assertions of manhood. For a long time my feeling has been that focusing upon the military symbolism has really passed its prime. There was a period in the late 60s and early 70s when it was necessary to focus on the Palestinians as they were taking their destiny into their own hands, symbolised by the gun. That battle has been won. Now it is a more difficult period and you have to use more unconventional methods than conventional ones. That would include using the strength of your opponent to your advantage and focusing on what your strength might be — which is political, organisational, ideological. Then, in such an integrated struggle, armed struggle becomes one possible element in a much larger mix.

Q: Is there a way that you can define the armed struggle that you think the PLO can use? Are you saying that the PLO used the slogan only, rather than actual armed struggle?

A: We base such assessments on the performance of other national liberation movements using armed struggle, as in Algeria, Vietnam, etc. In Palestine, if we judge events, the Israelis vacated, deported and displaced a great many of us. That is something you have got to worry about. I am much more interested in preserving Palestinian lives than in constantly exposing them to slaughter and massacres during periods when our principal slogan was armed struggle. Militarily, the disparity is so great that we have to rethink our strategy. The whole essence is that you should be able to preserve lives and land rather than lose both.

Q: How important is a role independent from the PLO for Palestinians in the territories?

A: The more independent Palestinian organisations there are, the better, because that will make it more difficult for Israel to destroy them. If you take the view that power is everywhere, then students' as well as teachers' organisations, economic organisations, etc.... the more the better. There will be more pressure on Israel, particularly if you have a prominent and still flourishing symbol of Palestinian nationalism outside to which you could link yourself.

Q: There are many theories which now try to explain American-Israeli and American-Arab ties. Do you believe the US can play the role of an impartial broker?

A: Of course not, it never did. I have never understood where this idea came from. Israel is a client state of the US and part of its establishment. But the Arab world also has always been part of the American empire. Anybody who has ever believed that there will be congruence between American state interests and Arab national aspirations is an utter fool. The reasons for that are that many of the elites in the Arab regimes, in order to promote their own interests, allowed themselves and others to believe that America is a mythical creature. The second reason comes from ignorance. What struck me is how little Arabs know about this country. All one has to do is to look at the pattern of American intervention since World War II, which shows that the immediate post-war policy was to intervene in the Middle East and to destroy any nationalist movement there right from the beginning. Anybody who does not notice this is a criminal.

A third factor is the role of the intellectuals, some opposing the US and others espousing it as do the leaders. There is an American state policy which is imperial with everything that that entails and will always be imperial, and there is the counter-imperial America. This makes America more than simply the impartial observer. A coherent political policy ought to be designed on these bases. Given the current configuration of elites in the Arab world and their incredible disarray and corruption of segments of the intellectual establishment there, that is not likely to materialise.

Land is wrested from its Palestinian owners on a daily dunum after dunum basis and by every conceivable means. Even when Palestinians seek the intervention of Israeli courts – and win – they still lose their land to those who control the instruments of power. **Michal Schwartz** visits Bidya for the anti-Zionist Israeli monthly *Derech HaNitzotz* one year after a farmer was murdered in his field

Bidya's Story of Land Robbery

Albert Turgeman, the 'strong man' for the Israeli construction company Ya'e Yaqir, has a close relationship with the area police.

On May 2, 1983 Ibrahim Ahmad Aqra', 59, was murdered in Bidya in Nablus region by border policemen when he tried to stop the bulldozers of the Gal (Israeli construction) Company on his land by using his own body. The land has belonged to Ibrahim Aqra"s family for generations and he held documents proving tax payments for it from as far back as his grandfather's time. The Gal Company was acting in violation of an order issued by the local Nablus court that instructed it to stop any work while the issue of ownership was being clarified, thus committing an offence against the court. The company held forged ownership certificates.

There was no major storm because of that murder. In spite of the fact that Ibrahim Aqra' was shot in his head and died on the spot, the military governorate claimed that he had died of a heart attack. The results of the autopsy were not forwarded to the family. Two other men were shot at the same time, one in the leg and the other in the abdomen. Both were treated in Me'ir Hospital at Kfar Saba without being registered at the reception. Nine eyewitnesses were arrested and a curfew was imposed on the village until tempers calmed.

One year after the event, Bidya residents continue to struggle against the grabbing of their land . This time they are opposing not the Gal Company but the Ya'e Yaqir Company of Investments Ltd which is constructing not Elkana Dalet but Elkana Hei. Apart from the principle parties' names and the amount of land involved in the disagreement, the process is surprisingly similar to that which led to the murder of Ibrahim Aqra' a year ago.

Yousef Abd al-Rahman Suleiman is one of the landowners whose Bidya land is threatened by the Ya'e Yaqir Company. On Thursday, June 28 Yousef took us to see the land and told us on the way about the development of events. His information was supplemented by lawyers Nidal Taha from Nablus and Bassam Abu Salah, who accompanied us, and Mohammed Na'amneh from Jerusalem.

On May 18, 1984, he told us, Bidya's residents were shocked to see a tractor going onto their land and uprooting their olive trees, from which they draw their living. Many people ran to the site, showed the driver certificates of ownership for the land and asked him to stop working. Two hours later the company's representative, Albert Turgeman, arrived on the spot, accompanied by five policemen as well as border policemen. He demanded that the tractor driver proceed with his work and threatened the villagers that if they didn't disperse they would be arrested. He demanded that the landowners bring proof of their claims and, in the meantime, the tractor continued to uproot olive trees.

Yousef Abd al-Rahman Suleiman displays land deeds for his 30 dunums.

The car that took us to Khallet Hassan passed by various settlements: blocks of pre-fabricated houses — Barqan — and of wood Swiss-style villas — Elqana Gimel — in addition to foundation boards virtually at the entrance to the courtyards of Arab houses, which indicate villa quarters under construction.

Yousef continued: he went to the Beit El governorate headquarters to submit, by hand, signed statements that he had never sold his land and to show his certificates of ownership. An Israeli officer signed his statement. Advocate Nidal Taha rushed to the district court in Nablus with all the documents and the magistrate judge — instructed by order No 111/84 in civilian file 396/84 from May 27, 1984 — told the Ya'e Yaqir Company to stop work on any land belonging to the appellants. The court also instructed that the implementation of the order should be executed by a magistrate court clerk of Salfit with the help of police. However, when Nidal Taha and the court clerk of Salfit reached Turgeman with the order in their hands, the latter rudely refused to execute the order and demanded that a police officer bring it. The Tulkarm police agreed to send a policeman but decided not to later. Taha rushed again to Nablus court, which sent a letter to the police commandant to implement the order. However, the officer in charge of the police station, George, refused and claimed that he had explicit instructions from the legal advisor for the West Bank not to interfere with the issue and that it was not in any way his task to implement the court's decisions. The date was June 16 and the tractors were still at work.

How Turgeman Gets Rid of Us

We arrive at the area and start to photograph. The Israeli company man, Albert Turgeman, immediately jumps at us and threatens that if we don't leave immediately, he will bring the police because this is a closed area. He especially threatens Yousef. To my question of whether he has a letter in his hand to prove that we are prohibited to enter the area, he shouts that he hasn't got one and continues to threaten. "When the police had to execute the court order it refused to come," says Yousef bitterly, "but in order to prevent me from entering my own land it will come immediately. Is this justice?"

On the way back, Yousef describes a whole network that is active on the West Bank in various dealings of fraud and forgery in order to transfer land from Arab ownership to Jewish ownership. The Ya'e Yaqir Company holds certificates for three land plots that it allegedly purchased, the size of which is about 90 dunums. The signatures on the certificates are forged, according to Isaac Hagag, who gave testimony in writing. Hagag is a graduate of the school of law at Tel Aviv University. He complemented his studies in the forensic laboratories of the Lyon and Paris police in cooperation with Interpol and has worked in the Israeli department of criminal identification since 1960.

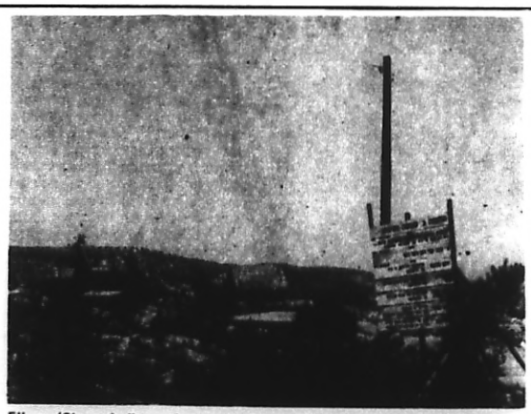
How Were the Documents Forged?

A man comes — say Yousef and Bassam — and claims that he is the son of Ali Arabi, who is dead, and presents an authorisation from the dead man in which he bequeaths to him his land and authorises him to dispose of it however he wishes, including selling it. In reality, Ali Arabi hasn't died at all; he has only two daughters and no sons and has never sold his land.

The signature of Ziad Abdallah was forged onto a similar document which he knew nothing about. In another case, the signature of a man who died 30 years ago was forged. Often fingerprints are forged simply by printing those of a stranger.

The forgery reached an advocate and notary called Horesh, who confirmed it without checking the authenticity of the signatures. Also, the *mukhtar* of the village, who carries a gun that the Israelis gave him, takes part in the game

continued on page 13



Elkana 'C' was built on the way to Elkana 'E,' both on disputed land. Work on Elkana 'D' stopped for lack of funds after the murder of Ibrahim Aqra'.

An Egyptian play about exploitation is performed to a Palestinian audience in Jerusalem and, from the mixture, becomes a new reality, according to theatre critic **Khalil Abu 'Arafah**. The theatre troupe, from Sakhnin in the Galilee, adapted Yusuf Idris' play to local dialects and familiar problems. The result was a qualified success.

Al Farafir: **The Game of Acting vs. Reality**

In any given theatrical work it is possible to assume three levels of reality: everyday-life reality; the theatrical acting reality which is somehow a reflection of the first reality. For the sake of completing the theatrical action and ensuring that it performs its role of conveying and communicating, there has to be a third level of reality. It is defined at the time of the show in the form of actors and audience.

I make this assumption as an introduction to dealing with *Al Farafir* by Yusuf Idris, produced by the Roving Theatre Troupe from Sakhnin. This assumption is necessary to understand the play in which Yusuf Idris and the Roving Troupe were able to create a new theatrical form by combining reality with acting.

How did this happen?

It worked through many devices: by involving the audience in the theatrical action. Rhetorical questions were asked: "Who is satisfied with his work?" Secondly, by implanting actors among the audience and then engaging them in the action while they were in their seats, the audience seemed, at first instance, to be really participating. The third means was through imposing a theatrical text to guide the technical action. Then there was an attempt to convince the audience of this game. Afterwards, there was suddenly 'a technical error' or a deliberate deviation from the text. This game of reality and acting was the crux of the artistic action as far as the form is concerned. It was perhaps logical to follow such a creative path in order to put forward a subject that is not as well established as the usual theatrical contents.

The purpose?

What does this play deal with? The theatrical action tried to show the master-subordinate relationship. The subordinate in this case is not an ordinary man — or he might be very ordinary. He is Farafir. Or, as he is introduced by the troupe: "He is a typical Egyptian novel hero: shrewd, intelligent, sarcastic by nature and custom. He is not impulsive. Nor is he a pedant. He is a jester, a clown and a wise philosopher at the same time. He is the collective sarcastic conscience. He is able to arouse laughter among and laugh at others."

Through this relationship we can sense ourselves and our society. We can see our bare reality. We can understand the particulars of a deteriorating economic situation based on exploitation. The exploited wishes he had never been. The exploiter wishes they would all die so that he could bury them — for he is a grave-digger.

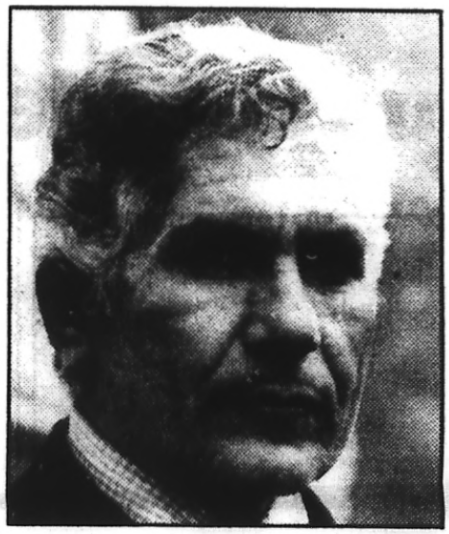
It is a deep analysis of the reality of society. It is also applicable to all societies, including our own. Through the deliberate action, we may say that the credit for this is not due to the writer alone but to the troupe as well. They are the members and the producer. They are experts at subjecting the play texts to the local dialects to suit our audience and their problems.

They were able in scene two to reflect a reality characteristic of their audience. They achieved this by giving expression to such private problems as: inflation, the beetles of Eitan, Inquiry Committees, the intellectual's crisis...etc. They also used the local dialect with some current Hebrew words. By way of mentioning the dialect and the role of the word, the two wives made a mistake when they couldn't escape the control of the Egyptian dialect derived from the spirit of the text.

Final Word

The simple decor of two open graves placed vertically may not be enough to contain the whole proceedings of the play. The play deals with so many mosaic matters including: digging graves, demanding death and effecting it. As for the music, it wasn't compatible with the events although it accompanied them. It was more like the music we hear in the circus.

However, these two remarks do not diminish the strength, depth and intelligence of *Al Farafir*.



Yousef Idris

continued from page 7

Self-Exile

125 students who were sent by Rakah, the Israeli Communist party, to study medicine in socialist countries, there are 216 medical students in Rumania, and about 300 in Italy.

The fourth characteristic of students is the small number of female students. Female students comprise 11.9 percent of all students, but this may be a little higher if we include students from Nazareth and Haifa, where the proportion of female students is higher than in the rest of the country. Despite this limited increase, the difference between the numbers of male and female students is too big.

It is possible to trace this disparity from the elementary school. Out of 1000 children at the age of elementary education, 970 boys make it to school, while only 916 girls of the same age make it to school. Then, 580 male students out of 1000 make it to secondary school, compared with 440 female students. (The annual *Israeli Book of Statistics, 1982*).

"Female students comprise 11.9 percent of all students."

It is also noticeable that the ratio of female students to the total number of students is not much higher than the ratio of female graduates to the total number of graduates. The proportion of female graduates is 7.6 percent of the total number, therefore the increase is less than 6 percent, and it does not suit the social change which Palestinian society is undergoing. The small percentage of female students is not distributed equally in the various regions. In the western Galilee, for instance, the proportion of female students to the total number of students is 14.1 percent, while in the eastern Galilee the proportion is 7.5 percent, in the central Galilee it is 15.2 percent, in the centre 31.5 percent, the northern Triangle 6.9 percent, and in the southern Triangle 10.4 percent.

Likewise, the proportion of female students differs from one village to another. Whereby the ratio of female students is 21 percent in Kufr Yasif, 29 percent in al-Rameh, 23 percent in Taibeh, there are 56 villages which do not have any female students. Among these villages are Majd al-Krum, Nahaf, Sajour, al-Sheikh Dannoun, Kabul, Kawkab, al-Raineh, Ibtan, Marjeh, Mshairfeh, Mu'awiyeh, Yameh and Zalafeh.

In addition to this, there are villages and towns where the number of female students is less than 10, among which: Mi'ilya (8 female students out of 34), Sakhnin (7 out of 87), Tarshiha (9 out of 51), Arrabeh (4 out of 71), Dabbouriyeh (3 out of 72), Kufr Kanna (3 out of 40), Abu Snan (3 out of 39), Daliat al-Karmel (2 out of 44), Baqah al-Gharbiyeh (2 out of 29), Jitt (2 out of 53), Um al-Fahm (5 out of 141), Kufr Qassem (4 out of 75), Qalansweh (1 out of 34) and al-Tireh (6 out of 54). With the exception of seven villages and towns, the number of female students in the rest of the villages is less than ten people. (Translation: Al Jadid, May 1984)

(continued next week)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The official signing of the Aden/Algiers agreement, continuation of the dialogue between the Democratic and National Alliances in Damascus, the mad settlement-building drive and the attempt by an (as usual) insane fanatic Zionist to blow-up al-Aqsa Mosque covered the front pages of all local Palestinian newspapers this week.

Earlier in the week, priority was given to the details of the internal Palestinian agreement. This was followed with daily ads and articles by national institutions in the occupied territories supporting the agreement. Good coverage was also given to the dialogue going on in Damascus among other Palestinian factions in order to achieve complete agreement.

Adhere to Aden Agreement

Under any circumstances, we must stick to the Aden agreement as a basis for national unity. The agreement is the outcome of Palestinian political and organisational experience. It answers many questions raised by this experience in recent years. It is also entirely based on the unanimous resolution of the PNC in Algeria.

Thus it gets the name of national unity agreement. Dialogue should continue on its basis with more parties that have not participated in it yet.

Events have shown that there is no alternative to national unity. All attempts at maintaining the PLO or setting an alternative to it at the expense of national unity have failed. Any differences can be solved within the framework of unity.

The Aden agreement proved that what unites the Palestinians is much stronger than what divides them. Consequently, dialogue is the proper course for unity. Just as this was true in Aden, it must be true in Damascus.

AL TALIA
June 12

Move Forward

The meeting of the major Palestinian factions in Algeria to sign the Aden agreement will pave the road to the expanded meeting and herald a new era.

Despite the call for some Palestinian organisations to join the Aden agreement, they are still insistent on rejecting it. They even demanded the cancellation of the agreement and launched a campaign of criticism. But our people rejected this a long time ago.

We believe that the four factions which continued dialogue with the non-participants in the Aden agreement have come to new conclusions regarding the rejectionists. The statement issued in Damascus by the four factions expresses these conclusions.

We also believe that higher national interest makes it necessary to move forward in implementing the Aden agreement. Meetings should be held at the level of the Executive Committee, the secretaries of the factions and the Palestine National Council.

The rejectionists should not be allowed to hinder the march forward.

AL SHA'AB
July 13

Settlements As Election Bait

Before the US presidential elections held on the first Tuesday of November, there is the so-called October Surprise. It is a political or economic activity undertaken by the president who seeks re-election. These activities could be interpreted as merely showing off, or they might be achievement that had not hitherto been made known.

It seems like the Likud, which, according to the polls, lags behind the Alignment, has decided to devote the last week of its election campaign to a settlement show-off schedule to start tomorrow and to last until July 22.

The aim of this showing-off is clear and two-sided. It will expand a number of existing settlements and turn them into fully established ones. It will also plan new settlement on additional Arab land. On the other hand, the Likud hopes by this to gain more popularity and narrow the gap between it and the Alignment.

It should be noted that this July surprise involves actual settlement activities and the loss of more Arab land. Another point we would like to raise before those observing the Israeli election game: would a future Alignment government be able to abolish facts resulting from this settlement activity? It is doubtful.

AL QUDS
July 14

Palestinian-Arab Relations Post-Aden

The political and organisational points in the Aden agreement clearly defined the Palestinian action in the next stage under Palestinian-Arab-International relations.

The agreement laid down the central foundations of Palestinian national unity. It is necessary that Palestinian-Arab relations are put in order accordingly.

The realisation of improvements in Arab-Palestinian relations on the basis of the agreement created better conditions for full confidence between the PLO, led by Yasir Arafat, and the Arab regimes, foremost among them Syria and Jordan.

We have recently seen a Libyan move to improve relations with Arab regimes, even with Jordan. This Libyan political move coincides with the Palestinian agreement and the call for Arab support for it. We hope that the Libyan move is being made in this context, that is, for the Palestinian agreement and not against it. No more polarisation is possible now that the various factions of the Palestinian people have agreed upon a national formula.

Syria, Libya, Jordan and every other Arab regime interested in the Palestinian cause are requested to comprehend the basic points of the Palestinian agreement. This would provide the minimum support to the Arab movement backing the national Palestinian rights.

The basic points have stressed the creation of confidence, especially in Palestinian-Syrian relations. They have also stressed the importance of continuing Jordanian-Palestinian relations within the framework of the PNC resolutions. They have also affirmed the necessity of improving Palestinian-Arab relations through adherence to the resolutions of Arab summits as a basis for solving the Palestinian problem, and through mutual respect for independence of each party. Let Arab support of the agreement be clear and explicit.

AL FAJR
July 16

Rabin Exposes Alignment

Yitzhak Rabin, the would-be minister of defence in an Alignment government, disclosed before 400 officers in Tel Aviv that the Alignment leadership was informed of the Lebanon war and its goals early in April 1982, in other words, two months before the start of the war.

This statement, which might be a 'slip of the tongue,' reveals two serious things: foreknowledge by the Alignment about the war and its far-reaching goals, including the 'establishment of a new Phalangist regime' in Lebanon.

After this statement, is there anyone who wonders why the Alignment does not attack the Likud on the Lebanon war issue? Or on the political and economic crisis resulting from this war?

Rabin also declared in his debate with Arens that the only solution to the economic crisis is the formation of a 'national unity government.'

These two facts, the Alignment collusion in the Lebanon war and its willingness to form a national unity government, must be known by every Arab. Any vote to the Alignment is a vote for the Likud.

It is of historic importance to counter the Alignment-Likud policy. This can be done by reinforcing the Front, which will lead the struggle against war and expansion and will defend the rights of the Arab masses.

AL ITTIHAD
July 16

International Conference The only way

In his press conference, Yasir Arafat stressed the need for an international conference with the participation of all concerned. Arafat's call stems from the realisation of Palestinian leadership that political moves cannot be frozen until after the US elections in November or even until after the Knesset elections after five days. The outcome of both elections will not change the policy of the US and Israel. The attitudes of the successive American and Israeli governments towards the Palestinian cause remain unchanged.

Therefore, the PLO is moving politically regardless of the outcome of these elections.

The PLO activity is clearly shown by the intensive contacts to hold the international conference with the participation of all concerned parties. In this context Arafat visited Jordan to meet with King Hussein after the latter's talks with the French President Mitterand. Reports from Paris talk about a new French initiative.

This new initiative should have something to do with the international conference which all Arab states have agreed to.

It is natural that the Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir will oppose this initiative.

As for us we see that the international conference with the participation of the USSR, the US and all the parties concerned, including the PLO, is the only way for a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

AL FAJR
July 18, 1984

Hassan Bek Renovation Fraud

July 18 the Muslim *Waqf's* head in Jaffa, Abed Qabub, disclosed that he intends to convene an Islamic Congress in Israel in the near future and maybe even to organise demonstrations and mass prayers of the Jaffa Muslims. This follows a halt in the rehabilitation and renovation of the Hassan Bek Mosque and the refusal of the Ministry of Religious Affairs to place the mosque in the *Waqf's* hands.

Qabub said that Jaffa residents are angry that the Ministry of Religious Affairs has stopped financing the renovation. He said that the renovation only lasted for a few weeks during which a part of the mosque's foundations were strengthened with concrete and that the ministry informed the renovating contractor that it was not prepared to pay for more than IS20million worth of work.

Qabub asked Binyamin Gur Arye, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the prime minister's adviser for Arab affairs to return the mosque into the *Waqf's* ownership and to permit him to collect donations "from, among others, the Arab states and even the PLO because this refers only to money" to complete the renovations. "The truth is that they hope the mosque will not return to Muslim hands and so they don't intend to renovate it. This is in spite of the fact that it is possible to do so within six months," said Qabub.

Complaint Against Jewish Terror Underground Fans

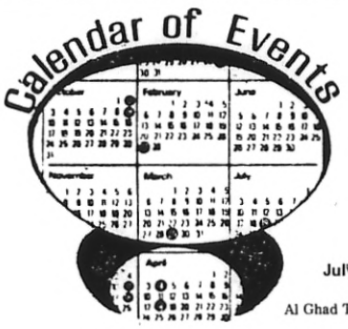
The government legal adviser Professor Yitzhak Zamir decided not to prosecute two young women for distributing propaganda on behalf of La'or, a movement that expresses support for the Jewish underground.

The complaint against the two was submitted by a passerby, who claimed that the distribution of such material is supporting the underground's activity. La'or, (Lema'an Ehay Were'ay — For the Sake of My Brothers and Friends) has been distributing like material for the last few months. Legal sources explained that the leaflets expressed personal support for the underground members, but nor for their deeds. They said that, although the state prosecution defined the underground as a terrorist organisation, the court has not yet accepted this definition.

In his letter to Superintendent Shlomo Gal, head of investigations and prosecution in the Israeli police, Professor Zamir says that it doesn't seem to him that the deed is a potential criminal offence, since potential support to the defendants in itself is not an offence.

Zamir also stated that his decision doesn't prevent him accepting other decisions in other cases related to the issue. If further complaints are submitted, each of them will be dealt with individually. (Translation: HaAretz, July 17, 1984)

Calendar of Events



July 21

Al Ghad Troupe, 7:00 pm.

All at the Nuzha/El-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, Tel: 288189, 280957

July 25

Film — "Dog Day Afternoon," 7:00, 9:15.

continued from page 1

Gate-Crashers

guards reported that they heard the sound of two crashes, one after another. The *Waqf* director said that the first had apparently been caused when unidentified people dragged away a heavy metal awning which hung over the gate. According to the *Waqf* director, at least 10 people were needed to remove the exceptionally heavy structure. He refuted Israeli police claims that the awning fell from the force of the crash and said that it would have crushed the car if it had fallen as police described.

Following the incident, the Higher Islamic Committee issued a statement July 18 strongly condemning the attack and warning against the continued attempts against the Muslim shrine. The statement, which was sent to the Israeli minister of interior, Yosuf Burg, reiterated an earlier call to remove the Israeli border guards from inside the religious site and to station them outside the mosque's gates, where they are needed to protect the Muslim holy site from settlers' incursions. The *Waqf* director said that intruders would not have managed to get near the gate.

The *Waqf* has documented hundreds of attempts by Israeli individuals and groups to burn, desecrate, vandalise, take over, force entry, shoot at worshippers and otherwise seize the area from Palestinian religious control, in the 17 years of Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem. The most spectacular attempt occurred in February, when a settler terror gang was caught trying to scale the mosque's walls and place high explosives inside. In the bloodiest incident, an American Israeli, Allen Goodman, forced his way into the mosque yard two years ago and began shooting indiscriminantly. In the barrage of gunfire that followed, in which Israeli civilians, soldiers and police participated, two Palestinians were killed and 62 wounded.

The Muslim site of Haram al-Sharif, where al-Aqsa, the third holiest place in Islam, and the magnificent Dome of the Rock are located, is recognised by Israelis only for the archeological remains of the 'Temple Mount,' which was destroyed in 70 AD. Jewish fanatics and militant Israelis are accelerating their campaign with the Israeli government to 'Judaise' the shrine, either by destroying the Muslim places or moving them elsewhere.

continued from page 10

Bidya's Story

by confirming things that never existed. From this stage until the transfer of the land to the land-dealers and the settlements, the road is short.

However, forging a land purchase is by itself not sufficient. The Israeli land company will then submit maps of its own that bear no relation to the size of the plots or their real boundaries. The company claims that the plots equal 330 dunums. In reality those 330 dunums are plots owned by 16 Bidya families. Yet the maps of the Israeli surveyor who works for the company will be confirmed by the staff officer for land within three days. It takes a year to certify the maps noted by the authorised surveyor in Ramallah which the landowners submit, lawyer Mohammed Na'amneh explained to me afterwards.

We reach the house of Suleiman Mustafa Hamdan, on whose father's land a tractor was working. From the 360 dunums he had, he drew 120 gallons of olive oil every year. "One young olive tree is worth about JD60 which is US$130. A mature tree is worth about JD400. The olives are our sole earnings," he says and points to Mohammed Yaha 'Amir, 72, who recently broke his hand when he fell down from his donkey on his way to his land plot. "We have never sold the land. Write it," he says excitedly. "This is all that we have."

The land of Bidya should pass to a new generation of Palestinians — a life-sustaining tradition which Israeli settlements stop.

Military Order Number 1060

However, all this is not enough. Uri Orr, the military commander of the West Bank, issued an order, No 1060, concerning registration of land. The order declares that land about which claims were submitted for registration of ownership are out of the jurisdiction of the local courts, which act according to Jordanian law. Cases are transferred to the committee that was established by the 'civil administration' and represents its interests. Every one may appear before such a committee, says Mohammed Na'amneh, even if he has no connection with the land or documentary proof, in order to request registration of ownership. By this, treatment by local courts is eliminated. The order was aimed at deviation of the Jordanian law which officialy still is in force on the West Bank. In this case, the order facilitates the company's claim that the Nablus court decision doesn't bind it. This is in spite of the fact that the request for registration was submitted after the court issued its order.

On April 30 an announcement was published in the Israeli government's Arabic daily *Al Anba* about the sale of the land, as is demanded by law. A small detail, the fact that the Al Anba newspaper reaches Nablus only once a week and that the town's residents read the Palestinian dailies *Al Quds*, Al Fajr or *Al Sha'ab* prevented the Bidya residents from knowing that their land was sold by fraud — until they saw the tractor.

The claim to the Israeli High Court that was submitted by Na'amneh and Taha, in which they asked for an explanation why the police should not implement the instructions of the local court, bears the value of a precedence. Also in Hebron and in the Ramallah area, similar cases involving hundreds of dunums of land also occurred. This situation enables companies that enjoy the protection of the border police, the police and the Israeli army, to do whatever they wish. Even if the landowners' lawyers succeed in High Court, they can expect a tiring dispute in the committee of the 'civil administration' about the three plots where requests for registration of ownership were submitted, and in the local courts about other issues.

What helps the companies is the fact that only 25 percent of the land is registered in the land registry. The others' ownership is proved by payment of tax receipts. "If a serious investigation committeee was established to look into the sale of land in the West Bank," says Nidal Taha, "it would discover that a clear majority of the sales are forged. It is impossible to know what is the direct interest of the governorate officers in the deals."

Avi Dudai, who was [former minister Ariel] Sharon's advisor in the defense ministry, became the owner of the Nofim Company. Relating to Shlomo Elia, the West Bank's 'civil administrator' in the past, claims were raised alleging that he might have abused his position and that this is why he was dismissed. However, someone who doesn't know all the details and is not aware of the complex orders and laws cannot escape the conclusion: when the Israeli leaders translate their intentions of annexation to politics, when the legal basis of the deals is the occupation, legitimacy of land deals is nothing but delusion. (Translation: Derech HaNitzotz, July 8, 1984)

WEEKLY REVIEW

July 11, 1984

COURT ORDERS FARA'A INVESTIGATION

Following complaints by some detainees at Fara'a prison of maltreatment, the High Court ordered an investigation. Seventeen-year-old Qais Anwar, arrested April 18 on charges of participating in a demonstration, tried to commit suicide by swallowing a key and is currently hospitalised. He complained of being severely beaten. Taher Anani, arrested last June 8 on the same charge, is suffering from cuts on his legs. A third prisoner showed the court the traces of cigarette burns on his body.

SETTLERS' STREET IN BIDDU

RAMALLAH — Israeli settlers graded the Biddu-Radar road which leads to a new settlement on a 600-dunum piece of Biddu village land.

MILITARY VEHICLE ATTACKED

RAMALLAH — A Molotov cocktail was hurled at Israeli vehicles on the approaches to al-Bireh. Israeli soldiers in the vehicle fired at the attackers.

ISRAELI SOLDIER FIRED AT

JERUSALEM — An Israeli soldier said that a shot was fired at him from a speeding vehicle near Gilo settlement, Jerusalem. The soldier returned fire. Israeli forces began an investigation.

CHARITABLE SOCIETIES TO CONTRIBUTE TO HALHOUL PROJECT

HALHOUL — *Haj* Hajazi Maddiyyeh, mayor of Halhoul, said a number of charitable societies will contribute to the central vegetable market project.

ARAB BEIRUT UNIVERSITY STUDENTS REQUEST TRAVEL PERMITS

BEIRUT — Beirut's Arab University students appealed to Israeli authorities for one-month exit permits to sit their exams on August 13 in Amman. They called upon Jordanian authorities to allow them to enter Jordan.

FAWWAR CENTRE REOPENED

HEBRON — The Youth Social Centre at Fawwar refugee camp was reopened early this month after a new administrative body was formed. Israeli authorities had closed the centre under the previous administration.

THREE JENIN YOUTHS FINED

JENIN — The military court in Jenin fined Adil Salim Yousef Abu Zaid and his brother Adnan, from Qabatya, IS3000 for ignoring military government summons.

July 12, 1984

TOWN ARREST APPEAL DISMISSED

JERUSALEM — Israeli High Court dismissed Faisal al-Husseini's appeal against the town arrest order imposed on him since 1982.

ARAB RESIDENT CHARGED WITH MURDERING ISRAELI

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah charged Jamal Ahmad al-Awarneh, a 22-year-old resident of To'meh village in the Bethlehem area. He is charged with murdering an Israeli employee of the Public Works Department in the vegetable market in Bethlehem.

LEBANESE SENTENCED

LYDDA — Military court in Lydda sentenced Ahmad Ali al-Badri, a Lebanese citizen, to two years in prison for membership in a Palestinian organisation. He was arrested September 21, 1983, when he came to visit Israel.

TURMAS'AYYA UNDER CURFEW

TURMAS'AYYA — Following the discovery of two explosive charges on the road to Shilo settlement, Israeli forces put Turmas'ayya village under curfew.

YOUTHS IMPRISONED AND FINED

JENIN — The military court sentenced Ziyad al-Salfiti to six months in prison on charges of participating in a demonstration. Other students were fined.

ISRAELI BUS STONED

NAZARETH — An Egged bus was stoned near the Beduin village Frush Rummaneh in the Nazareth district. The driver stopped the bus and chased a 15-year-old boy and arrested him.

FINED FOR FINE ART

HEBRON — Military court in Hebron sentenced Mohammed Shakir al-Tmeizi, from Idna village near Hebron, to one month suspended and a fine of IS25,000 on charges of possessing Palestinian paintings.

DEIR YASSIN BECOMES 'HARNOF'

DEIR YASSIN — The Arab village of Deir Yassin, site of the 1948 massacre, now bears the name 'Harnof' after 129 contractors finished building 1800 housing units and seven Jewish synagogues on the ruins of Arab houses. Jewish religious families start moving into the village this week.

The house of Ayoub Ali Manasra's family, 28 members, blown up by Israeli authorities in Bani Na'im, Hebron district, July 16. The owner has been held for three months on charges of membership.

July 13, 1984

SETTLERS SEIZE VAST AREAS IN ABU DIS

ABU DIS — The authorities recently expropriated land in Abu Dis without notification of the owners. Settlers levelled the ground and built a road. They set up tents and the first group of settlers arrived. The expropriated land is located in: Batin Bisharah, al-Rufaid, al-Hadab, Dinar al-Marah and Marajem al-Ghazalah. Abu Dis residents have title deeds to prove ownership of the land and have petitioned the objections committee.

SETTLEMENT CAMPAIGN

HEBRON — Israeli sources said that the ruling Israeli Likud coalition will launch a major settlement campaign in the occupied Arab territories. During the campaign, eight settlement sites will be turned into town settlements. Five are in the West Bank and three in the Gaza Strip. New settlements will be established in the city of Hebron and the Hebron mountains.

SEVERE SENTENCES AGAINST 7 JABALIA YOUTHS

GAZA — Military court in Gaza sentenced seven Jabalia youths to 15 years in prison. They were charged with carrying out eight operations against Israeli forces and forming an underground network.

FRUIT TREES BURNT

BEIT JALA — Unknown persons set fire to 80 fruit trees belonging to Mohammed Ahmad al-Araj from al-Walajah village near Beit Jala.

THREE DHEISHEH YOUTHS ARRESTED

The authorities arrested Burhan Sha'ban Attallah, Jamal al-Me'aiwia and Abd al-Qadir Shahin from Dheisheh camp. No reasons were given.

IDENTITY CARD NECESSARY FOR PASSPORT

An identity card issued by the Jordanian Civil Affairs Department is now needed to get a Jordanian passport.

July 14, 1984

THREE YOUTHS DETAINED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities detained three residents of Mughayer village near Ramallah after their village was surrounded. The three are: Khaled Rashid Hah, 22, Imad Said Hassan, 24, and Faraj Su'adeh Massard, 20.

PRISONER RELEASED

QALQILYA — Israeli authorities released Sadiq Hussein from Kufr Thulth village near Qalqilya. He served 15 years in prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

TYRES SLASHED IN SILWAN

SILWAN — Unknown persons slashed the tyres of cars parked near Silwan Club. This is one of several similar incidents in the last few days.

July 15, 1984

REMAND OF TWO YOUTHS EXTENDED

Military court in Ramallah decided to extend the detention of Fuad Khalil Subh, 15, and Omar Mohammed Subh, 16, from the village of Ta'amreh near Bethlehem, for ten more days. The two youths were arrested last month by the authorities for 'interrogation.'

MILITARY GUARD ON SHAKA'A LIFTED

The military authorities have recently lifted the military guard imposed on the elected mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a. From January 1981 Israeli soldiers used to follow Shaka'a wherever he went.

PALESTINE WEEK IN KALANDIA CAMP

The exhibitions of Palestine Week were opened at the Vocational Training Centre in Kalandia under the auspices of the students' movement in the centre. The exhibitions will continue until July 24.

BOOKS FOR PALESTINIAN DETAINEES

Advocate Ibrahim Irsheid of Acre has sent a message to the director of prison authorities requesting that the Prisoners' Friends' Society be allowed to send books and educational magazines to the prisoners. He said in his letter that the prisoners are living in isolation from the outside world and therefore need the books and magazines to keep informed of what is happening in the world.

MOHAMMED 'AMRO AND DEPUTY QUESTIONED

The dismissed mayor of

Dura, *Haj* Mohammed Mousa 'Amro, stated that the Hebron police summoned him and his deputy Mohammed Shaker Sweiti and questioned them regarding their signing papers for residents concerning their business in Jordan. The two were released on bail pending trial.

DETENTION OF YOUTHS IN AIN MAHEL

Nazareth police are still holding youths from the village of Ain Mahel near Nazareth on charges of blocking roads on Land Day, 1984. The police have detained dozens since Land Day.

2800 ARAB PILGRIMS FROM ISRAEL

The Israeli minister of interior said that 2800 Arabs from Israel have already been registered to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.

ISRAELI SETTLERS BLOCK ROAD TO RAFAH CROSSING

Israeli farmers from the settlements near Rafah blocked the road to the crossing point between Israel and Egypt. They used tractors and trucks to block the roads, preventing cars from going through.

WORKERS' UNIONS SUPPORT ADEN AGREEMENT

Workers Unity Block Central Bureau in the occupied territories issued a statement supporting PLO unity and collective leadership. The statement described the agreement as an historic Palestinian achievement.

25 PRISONERS FROM BEER SHEBA TO NABLUS

Twenty-five security prisoners are transferrd from Beer Sheba prison to the new prison in Nablus. The authorities had previously moved 50 prisoners from Beer Sheba to Nablus.

REMAND OF GOLAN YOUTHS EXTENDED

NAZARETH — Nazareth district court extended the detention of seven youths from the Golan until the end of the legal proceedings against them.

The prosecution claimed that the seven threw a bomb at an agent's house and raised the Syrian flag. Some of the detainees are charged with crossing the border to Syria.

July 16, 1984

ADVOCATE MEETS DETAINEES

NABLUS — Advocate Walid al-Fahoum visited four detainees from Askar Camp at the central prison in Nablus. They are accused of membership in an illegal organisation and suspected of being involved in the assassination of a collaborator as well as attempting to assassinate another collaborator. The four are: 25-year-old Marwan Saleh Ulayan, 20-year-old Abd al-Nasser Ahmad Sayrafi, 21-year-old Mahmoud Hashim Masri and 22-year-old Hussan Ibrahim Hajaj.

One of the youths is accused of planting a bomb in Nablus.

The authorities still refuse access to Abd al-Karim Zaki Uraidi of Arrabeh village, Jenin, who was arrested upon crossing Damia Bridge to the West Bank.

QABATYA YOUTHS ARRESTED

QABATYA — Israeli authorities arrested Said Farid Abu Rub of Qabatya, near Jenin, as he entered the West Bank through Damia Bridge.

Last week two youths, aged 12 and 16, from Qabatya were arrested. The reason is not known.

LAND AUTHORITY OFFICIAL STEALS TAPE AND RADIO

RAMALLAH — An official in the land authority department in Ramallah stole a tape and radio from a car owned by a Jerusalem resident. The car was involved in an accident on the Jeeb-Biddu road July 13 and the owner abandoned his car. When he returned he discovered the theft. He stopped a land authority's car and found the stolen items in it.

HEBRON UNIVERSITY NEWSLETTER

HEBRON — The public relations department in Hebron University published the first issue of the university newsletter.

MAN RELEASED, ID HELD

BETHLEHEM — Ali Dakhallah of Bethlehem was released five months ago, having served a five-year prison sentence at Asqalan prison. But the authoritie have kept his personal ID card. He approached the International Red Cross, which sent two messages to the prison authorities. No answer has been given.

SETTLEMENT NEAR BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM — A new settlement was established under the name of Asfar. The settlement, situated between Ma'ale Amos and Teko'a in the Bethlehem area, is inhabited by about 20 families.

IMPRISONMENT FOR BATIR YOUTH

RAMALLAH — Military court in Ramallah sentenced 23-year-old Amjad Mohammed Aweineh from Batir village to 10 months in prison and 12 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

PROTEST AGAINST LAND CONFISCATION

Residents of Husan and Nahalin villages protested against the confiscation of thousands of dunums of their land for a new settlement in the Kfar Etzion area. Tens of residents tried to prevent Israeli bulldozers from continuing their work but they were dispersed by security forces protecting the settlers.

SPANISH CONSUL VISITS BASSAM SHAKA'A

NABLUS — The Spanish consul visited Nablus where he met with Bassam Shaka'a at the end of his tour of duty. He also met a number of Nablus personalities.

HOME DEMOLISHED AT BANI NA'IM

BANI NA'IM — The authorities demolished the house of Ayoub Ali Manasra in the village of Bani Na'im. The house consisted of three rooms and three stores.

The family of the owner of the house includes 28 persons. The owner of the house has been under arrest for three months on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

CURFEW ON DHEISHEH CAMP

DHEISHEH — Unknown persons attacked Hassan Jibril Mana'a of Dheisheh camp, wounding him in the head. He was taken to Hadassah Hospital, where he is still under treatment.

The unknown persons fired shots to frighten camp residents. Following the incident, the residents chased the attackers with stones. The authorities are reported to have clamped a curfew on the camp.

NABLUS DETAINEES SUFFER HARSH CONDITIONS

NABLUS — Palestinian detainees at Nablus' new prison are having their breakfast delayed for four hours after 6 am, which is the time set by prison authorities.

The number of detainees is now 250 and they complain of TV cameras and listening devices planted inside the prison quarters which monitor their movements.

SUPPORT FOR ADEN AGREEMENT

Several national institutions and youth, sports and workers' movements in the West Bank have pledged their support for the Aden unity agreement and appealed to the Palestinian factions to implement the agreement as soon as possible.

TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

QALQILYA — The Israeli authorities have lifted the travel ban which has been imposed on the residents of Qalqilya village for over a month.

JENIN YOUTH RELEASED

JENIN — The Israeli authorities released Mas'ad Ammar of Jenin camp after serving one-and-a-half years in prison on security charges.

July 17, 1984

JEWISH EXTREMIST ATTEMPTS TO FORCE HIS WAY INTO AL-AQSA

JERUSALEM — Guards at al-Aqsa Mosque stopped a car driven by a Jewish extremist from entering the area of al-Aqsa. The police arrested the driver and later described him as deranged.

LAND CASES HEARING POSTPONED

HEBRON — The military objections committee postponed the hearing of the case concerning the land of Rujub in the Wadi Khazin location and Khirbet Jamsah at Dura town near Hebron until September 2.

AL-NASR MEETS AMERICAN VICE CONSUL

QALQILYA — *Haj* Amin Nasr, the elected mayor of Qalqilya, received the American Vice Consul General in Jerusalem. The visit lasted for more than two hours. Nasr discussed American policy, which favors Israel. He also pointed out the anti-Palestinian attitude of America.

NO BUSES FOR TULKARM STUDENTS

NABLUS — Students at Najah University in Nablus expressed their discontent at the shortage of buses from Tulkarm to the university.

FIVE YOUTH CENTRES CLOSED

The social youth centres at Jalazon, Kalandia, Dheisheh, Aroub and Balata refugee camps have been closed by the Israeli authorities. The youths have appealed to UNRWA to intervene immediately.

HEAVY FINES FOR STUDENTS

HEBRON — Military court in Hebron sentenced seven students to fines and eight months suspended on charges of demonstrating on Land Day. The students are all from the nearby village, Samu'. They are: Ahmad Husan Rawashdeh, IS60,000, Ibrahim Rashed Salamid, IS60,000; Ma'moun Ali Abu Arqoub, IS 50,000; Bilal Isa Ali Khalayleh, IS40,000; Nawaf Ibrahim Khalayleh, IS 20,000; Tarek Abd al-Salam Khalayleh, IS15,000; Khalil Musalam Khalayleh, IS150,000.

YOUTH RELEASED

NABLUS — The authorities released engineer Yousef Abd al-l-Rauf Saber after completing a five-month jail sentence.

POET REMAINS IN DETENTION

RAMALLAH — The authorities are still detaining the poet Mutawakel Taha, teacher of Arab language at The Modern Community College (MCC) in Ramallah. He was arrested July 11.

TAXES PAID IN JD'S

TULKARM — Owners of public transport vehicles in Tulkarm have expressed their discontent at the constant raids of the tax employees who demand payment in JD's.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE COURSE AT HEBRON UNIVERSITY

HEBRON — An English language course for high school has been opened at the Hebron University as part of the activities of the Student Council at the University. The course started last Thursday with 400 students enrolled.

STUDENT DETAINED AT AZA CAMP

AZA — Isareli authorities raided the house of student Mahmoud Zaaboun in Aza camp near Bethlehem and detained him after searching the house.

IMPRISONMENT FOR THREE HEBRONITES

RAMALLAH — Military court in Ramallah sentenced Zakariya Mohammed Ismail Qawasmeh to three-and-a-half months in prison and Jamal Salem Qudsi to five months in prison and Hamed Jamal to six months in prison on security charges.

SHEIKH DETAINED IN GAZA

GAZA — Israeli authorities detained *Sheikh* Ahmad Ismail Yasin, secretary of the Islamic Association in Gaza.

NO VACANCIES AT TULKARM DIRECTORATE OF EDUCATION

TULKARM — The Directorate of Education decided not to interview any applicant for teaching jobs this year because there are no vacancies at the schools in Tulkarm district. The directorate received hundreds of applications from graduates in all fields.

July 18, 1984

BELGIAN C–G DEPARTS JERUSALEM

The Consul General of Belgium in Jerusalem, Jan F. Willems,, is due to finish his tour of duty and return to Belgium July 25. Willems, who has served as his country's consul general since 1981, is to be transferred to the Belgium delegation at the European Community. He described his service in Jerusalem as "very interesting."

The major Zionist political parties competing for Knesset seats and governmental control July 23 do not vary in the substance of their policy toward the Palestinian people. It is not apathy but insight that has led Palestinians in the occupied territories to be disinterested in the Israeli struggle for power over them.

Israeli Knesset Elections: A Flip of the Same-Sided Coin

The Israeli Knesset elections appear to be of negligible interest to Palestinians in the 1967 occupied territories. Except for the few who are close to the Jordanian monarchy and are gambling on a Labour Party win, Palestinians harbour little hope in any Zionist party running for election. They view the Zionist establishment as a whole in its attitude toward the Palestinian people, and see any differences between the Zionist parties as only marginal. Either one or the other of the two major parties, Likud or Labour, both of which bear full and direct responsibility for the occupation of the Palestinian and Arab territories, is going to win. The Palestinians have no reason to expect a real change in the Israeli policy on the Palestinian cause.

Al Fajr talked to a number of nationalist figures in the occupied territories to hear their opinions about the upcoming Israeli elections. They were asked a number of specific questions:

— How do you view the Israeli elections?

— How do they differ from previous elections?

— What do you think about the gamble by some Arab regimes and Palestinian elements in the West Bank on the Labour Party?

— How do you assess political developments in the area if Labour wins?

According to Bassam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus who was dismissed by Israeli military authorities in 1982: " The Israeli elections campaign for the eleventh Knesset is governed by the latest political developments in the area. There is no doubt that the failure of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the face of the steadfastness of the Palestinian forces for over three months prompted the early holding of the Israeli elections. The failure deepened the political and economic crisis in Israel. This is clearly reflected in the elections propaganda; that is, each party uses this failure against the ruling party, the Likud, to win the votes of the Israeli electorate.

"I don't think the elections and their results will make any real change in the serious problems. Labour and Likud have the same strategy. Labour, which might win, doesn't present any strategic or ideological change, either in the issues related to the Israelis or to the Palestinians. By talking about partial withdrawal from the West Bank, it aims at creating a better atmosphere for more successful tactics. Labour agrees with Likud on three crucial points: 'No' to the independent Palestinian state, 'No' to the withdrawal to the pre-'67 borders and 'No' to the PLO.

"We have had experience with the Labour Party. It was Labour which occupied the West Bank and Gaza, and Likud only completed the task. Labour, during its rule, fought against the unity of the two banks. It was encouraging Palestinian elements to isolate the occupied territories from the rest of the Palestinians. The only difference between Labour and Likud is in their choice of tactics.

"As for those who gamble on Labour," Shaka'a continued, "they are unrealistic because they are not acquainted with the facts and they don't base their conclusions on the facts before them. The Labour Party, if it wins, will be unable to achieve any change in Israeli policy, even if it wants to, because the political balance within the Zionist establishment is still in favour of the policy which negates the national presence of the Palestinians."

Akram Haniya, editor of Al Sha'ab daily newspaper and chairperson of the Arab Journalists' Association, agrees with Shaka'a: "The holding of early elections is an expression of the failure of the Israeli policy against the Palestinian people and of the invasion of Lebanon. Therefore, these are the points around which the Israeli elections revolve and which reflect the crisis facing the ruling establishment in Israel. The present elections campaign is also characterised by the competition of the Zionist parties over who is more hostile to the Palestinian people.

"For me, whoever gambles on the Labour Party is either naive or intends to harm the Palestinian cause. I believe the Labour Party is more dangerous to our cause because of its hypocrisy. It might, if it wins, mislead some international sectors by presenting itself as interested in real and just peace. But we know that the solution proposed by Labour, Allon's settlement plan, cannot be accepted by any Palestinian.

"But we expect," Haniya said, "that if Labour wins in the eleventh Knesset elections, the area will witness a new offensive by the US and Arab reaction to present peaceful settlements which do not meet even the minimum demands of the Palestinian people. I believe that the Palestinians, wherever they are, will reject and fight all these settlements which will aim only at reinforcing the positions of Zionism, imperialism and reaction in our area."

Dr Haidar Abd al-Shafi, director of the Red Crescent Society in Gaza and one of the signers of the DFPE support statement, also offered his opinion: "The Israeli elections are an internal Israeli issue. In view of the similarity in the strategic positions of the Likud and Labour, I don't expect any radical change in Israeli policy which would remove the obstacles on the way to real peace.

"I don't see even a glimmer of hope from Labour. It is shameful that there are Arab reactionary regimes and Palestinian elements in the occupied territories who are isolated from the popular base, who believe that possibilities for making peace would be better if Labour wins. They continue shamefully to hold onto the tails of imperialism in an attempt to mislead the Palestinians and spread illusions among them.

"How could there be a hope when both major parties show clear hostility to the national rights of our people and expose their real Zionist aims? Therefore, I believe that the statements which are frequently made by the Labour Party about its readiness to negotiate with King Hussein about a partial withdrawal from the West Bank are an attempt to dissolve Palestinian unity in the occupied territories and to smooth the way for negotiations with King Hussein over a settlement which doesn't meet the minimum demands of the Palestinian people."

Zahira Kamal, the head of the Federation of Women's Work Committees, noted: "Due to the political changes in the area and Israel, the Labour Party might win. Labour tries to exploit the results of the failure of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the difficult economic situation and presents itself as an alternative which is better than Likud. But Labour was in office for 29 years. It did not present one positive thing regarding the rights of the Palestinian people. In addition, it practiced all kinds of oppression against the Palestinian people, and this is why Palestinians do not really care who wins.

"If Israel did not fail in Lebanon, Likud's position would have been better. It would have achieved a crushing victory in the elections. But the failure of the invasion of Lebanon exposed Israel and removed the democratic disguise from its face. And Labour supported the invasion.

"The Labour Party is interested in making a surrenderist settlement in the area, but it depends on the strength of the PLO. If the PLO is in a weak position, there will be attempts by the reactionary Arab regimes and the Americans and the European countries to present solutions which are unacceptable to the Palestinian people. But I believe these attempts will be crushed on the rock of the rejection of our people."

Badran Jaber, a journalist under town arrest in Hebron, remarked: "Since the Zionist entity is one of the two sides in conflict in the arena, any change in the political direction of this entity will, of course, leave its mark on the future of the Palestinian national cause. But the question is: will there be a real change in the policy of the ruling establishment? The political slogans which are raised by both Labour and Likud are related to the Palestinian cause, the situation in the occupied territories and the strategy of solving the Palestinian problem.

"In the occupied territories," Badran elaborated, "the basic problem burdening the Palestinians is the settlement policy and the infringement on land and human rights. Regarding the solution of the Palestinian problem in general, Israel continues to refuse to recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and instead launches continual war against them. In this regard, Labour and Likud are two faces of one coin.

"But I can see that Labour, using more subtle tactics than Likud to implement the same policy, makes some Palestinian elements in the occupied territories and the Arab reactionary regimes gamble on them. I expect that if Labour defeats Likud in the elections and wins power, there will be an increasing number of solutions proposed by the reactionary and the imperialist camp. But any solution that ignores the legitimate Palestinian rights in their homeland will not see light."

Election posters in West Jerusalem sell different brands of Zionism. Here: the Alignment, Rafael Eitan and Teddy Kollek/MN Photo

Nablus' elected mayor Bassam Shaka'a